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THE CAROLINA QUAKER  
EXPERIENCE





# The Carolina Quaker Experience 1665–1985

AN INTERPRETATION

BY  
SETH B. HINSHAW

*North Carolina Yearly Meeting*  
*North Carolina Friends Historical Society*  
1984

*To Our Grandchildren*

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## *A Note on the Dust Jacket and Endpaper Illustrations*

*The dust jacket picture is from a watercolor by John Collins, 1869, showing the interior of the Meeting House used jointly by New Garden and the Yearly Meeting. The front endpapers show the people gathering at Yearly Meeting time; also the Revolutionary Oak in the cemetery is pictured on the back endpapers. North Carolina Yearly Meeting was held here most years from 1791 to 1879. Reproductions courtesy of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library.*



## *Preface*

Perhaps in the years just ahead someone will write a multi-volume definitive history of North Carolina Yearly Meeting. In the meantime there is need for a brief overview which will be helpful to the many persons who want to know more about their Quaker heritage. This single volume is directed toward that need.

North Carolina is not the only state involved in this story. For a century or more there were Friends in South Carolina, Georgia, Virginia and Tennessee who belonged to North Carolina Yearly Meeting. In fact, quite a few Friends in southern Virginia are members today. In addition to Friends in the Galax area, three meetings in southeast Virginia have transferred their affiliation to North Carolina Yearly Meeting in recent years.

Since the separation of 1904 there have been two North Carolina Yearly Meetings, the smaller body being distinguished by the name North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative). For more than two hundred years southern Friends, except for most of Virginia, were one unit with a common history, shared by both the larger and the smaller yearly meetings. This narrative is written from the perspective of the larger body. It follows the course of events and developments of Friends who are affiliated with Friends United Meeting, Richmond, Indiana. All the while, however, Conservative Friends (sometimes called non-pastoral Friends) continue to be an integral, vital part of the North Carolina Quaker experience, and are so recognized. At present there are several other groups of Friends in the Carolinas who are not affiliated with either of the groups named above. These too are listed in an additional chapter.

The various topics included in this survey are presented in chronological order to some extent, although these themes could not be totally confined to one specific period. The time frame is important, however, for significant developments can be understood only when seen in relation to existing historical situations.

A number of small incidents are related, not because such events

are of major importance within themselves, but because a simple story may provide an insight, a window, through which one may catch a realistic glimpse of the Quaker experience long ago. For the same reason, many quotations from the journals of visiting Friends are used. These not only provide a reliable source of information as to dates and places, but also fascinating observations concerning North Carolina Quakers as seen by others.

While the focus of this book is upon Friends belonging to North Carolina Yearly Meeting, there is a sense in which the Carolina experience forms the first chapter in the background of thousands of Friends across the nation. In fact, the majority of Friends in the Midwest and Far West have ancestral roots in the South. Errol Elliott has said that midwestern Friends do not fully understand their own heritage until they know what happened in North Carolina.

One great difficulty encountered in the preparation of this work has been that of keeping the story sufficiently brief. Hopefully, readers will understand that every phase of the various topics could not be explored in great depth and detail. The terms *Friend* and *Quaker* are used interchangeably to avoid undue repetition.

The writing of this book, begun more than two years ago, has been carried forward by a sense of concern. Having been active in some capacity with the yearly meeting, and also the Friends United Meeting, for almost fifty years, it has seemed only natural to continue to be of service in the most productive way possible. There is no point at which one should cease to be devoted to the progress of the Church in general, and in my case, to the North Carolina Yearly Meeting of Friends.

Four years as clerk of the yearly meeting, sixteen years as executive secretary (a position now called superintendent) and twenty-five years as pastoral minister, provide the background of experience from which this book has been written. Throughout all these years there was continuous involvement with various committees and Quaker organizations.

During this writing process something has been discovered which was already known in a theoretical sort of way: one person cannot write a book of this kind by himself. Alone I would have faltered somewhere, certainly. So much has been contributed by others in terms of assistance and encouragement that it does not seem quite right for my name to appear as author. At least I did take the initiative, working many long days instead of taking sabbatical time, something which has never had a place in my busy years.

A list of persons to whom I am indebted for assistance in the



preparation of the manuscript would be quite long. Special appreciation is expressed for the encouragement and support of the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, and to the Publications Board of the yearly meeting. Damon Hickey, curator of the Friends Historical Collection, and Carole Treadway, bibliographer, provided access to the records and materials which made this work possible. Other individuals who offered constructive suggestions were Lindley S. Butler, historian-in-residence at Rockingham Community College; Viola S. Britt, instructor in the Greensboro City Schools; Theodore E. Perkins, retired librarian, Elon College; Etta Florence Wrenn, guidance counselor, Troy City Schools; Frank Crutchfield, retired research engineer, Western Electric Company; Rausie Hobson, chairperson of the Publications Board, North Carolina Yearly Meeting; Evelyn Hinshaw Gates, media specialist; and Mary Edith Hinshaw, chairperson of the Meeting Histories Committee, Friends Historical Society.

Without the steady day-by-day support of Mary Edith Hinshaw this volume could not have been carried forward to completion. She has spent many long hours in assisting in research, evaluating, making constructive suggestions, in copyediting, and book design.

Ramseur, North Carolina  
May 1984

Seth B. Hinshaw

1672. there were no Friends in that part of the Country :) and many of them did receive us gladly.

CAROLINA.

Not far from hence we had a Meeting among the World's People, and they were taken with the Truth; blessed be the Lord. Then passing down the River *Maratick* in a *Canoe*, we went down the Bay *Connie-oak*; and came to a Captain's House, who was loving to us, and lent us his Boat (for we were much wetted in the *Canoe*; the Water flashing in upon us.) With this Boat we went on to the Governour's House: but the Water in some places was so shallow, that the Boat being loaden, could not Swim; so that we were fain to put off our Shooes and Stockings, and wade through the Water a pretty way. The Governour with his Wife, received us lovingly: but there was at his House a Doctor, who would needs Dispute with us. And truly, his Opposing us was of good Service, giving Occasion for the Opening of many things to the People, concerning the Light and Spirit of God, which he denied to be in Every one; and affirmed, that it was not in the *Indians*. Whereupon I called an *Indian* to us, and asked him, 'Whether or no, when he did 'Lye, or do Wrong to any one, there was not some-thing in him, that did reprove him for it? And he said, *There was such a thing in him, that did so reprove him; and he was ashamed, when he had done wrong, or spoken wrong.* So we shamed the Doctor before the Governour and the People; insomuch, that the poor Man run out so far, that at length he would not own the Scriptures. We tarried at the Governour's that Night: and next Morning he very courteously walked with us himself about two Miles through the Woods, to a place, whither he had sent our Boat about to meet us. Where taking our Leave of him, we entred our Boat again, and went that Day about Thirty Miles to one *Joseph Scot's*, who was one of the Representatives of the Country. And there we had a Meeting, and many People were at it: a sound, precious Meeting it was, and the People were tender; and much desired after Meetings.

- - - - - On the Ninth of the Tenth Month we got back to *Bonnors-Creek*, where we had left our Horses; having spent a matter of Eighteen Days in the North of *Carolina*.

## *From Small Beginnings*

The Quaker experience in the Carolinas extends through more than three centuries, to the early decades when George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends, was in the prime of life. One part of the "great people to be gathered" which he envisioned on Pendle Hill was in Carolina. Fox visited the area himself in 1672.

Prior to this time, much had been happening along the Carolina coast. In 1524 a Florentine navigator in the service of France explored the coastal area.<sup>1</sup> A little later, in 1526, the Spanish attempted a settlement, possibly on the Cape Fear. Hernando De Soto, marching northward from Florida, explored the southwestern part of the state in 1540. The first English exploration was by Amadas and Barlow in 1584 sponsored by Sir Walter Raleigh. This was followed by two ill-fated attempts to plant an English settlement on Roanoke Island.

Early promotional literature concerning Carolina was quite far-fetched, but interesting nonetheless. The coastal area north of the Cape Fear was described by the Spanish as having "faire fields . . . good wholesome aire, huge and beautiful trees, sweet and odorific flowers, and great bounty of game and fowl."

English promotional statements were similar. The British explorer Barlow described Roanoke Island as "the most plentiful, sweete, fruitful and wholesome of all the world." The natives (Indians) were described as "loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason." A British sea captain of the same period went so far as to say North Carolina Indians used golden "chamber pottes."<sup>2</sup> This was not exactly what the first English settlers found, however.

During the decades following the first permanent English settlement at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, exploration gradually pushed southward into the Albemarle Sound area.

From the standpoint of church history, the most amazing fact about early Carolina is the measure of religious freedom expressed in the Charter granted by King Charles II in 1663:

No person . . . shall be in any ways molested, punished, disquieted, or called into question for any differences in opinion or practice in matters of religious concernment, but every person shall have and enjoy his conscience in matters of religion throughout all the province.<sup>3</sup>

In August of the same year, in order to make the colony attractive to religious dissenters, the proprietors added their further statement:

We will grant, in as ample manner as the undertakers [settlers] shall desire, freedom and liberty of conscience in all religious or spiritual things, and to be kept inviolably with them, we having power in our charter to do so.<sup>4</sup>

This amazing Carolina Charter was largely the work of John Locke, assisted by Lord Shaftsbury. Religious freedom came to the New World in large measure by way of Carolina, almost two decades before William Penn arrived in the area now called Pennsylvania in 1681. To what extent the form of government he adopted was patterned after the Carolina Charter is of much interest, but outside the realm of this story.

Religious freedom of this nature was in sharp contrast with the intolerance prevailing in Puritan Massachusetts, and in Virginia under Governor Berkeley. So different was the atmosphere in Carolina that George Fox in his visit felt free to go to Governor Carteret's house. There, "The Governor, with his wife, received us lovingly."<sup>5</sup> This was more than twenty years before the Quaker John Archdale became governor. Friends met opposition later when the Church of England finally made some efforts at church establishment in the colony; but for almost half a century after the arrival of the first Quaker family on Albemarle Sound in 1665, Friends enjoyed great religious freedom.

While it may be assumed that most early Carolina settlers came seeking land, some few Quakers and other religious dissenters from New England and Virginia were attracted by the air of religious freedom.

The first Quaker family to arrive in the Perquimans area of North Carolina is thought to be that of Henry Phillips, in 1665. This date is derived from a statement in the *Journal* of William Edmundson, a traveling minister from Ireland. Upon reaching the Albemarle Country in 1672 he stated that the Henry Phillips family "wept with joy," as he was the first Quaker they had seen in seven years, probably the time of their coming southward from New England.<sup>6</sup>

Apparently there were quite a few Quakers living in southeastern Virginia by 1660. In that year and the years following Governor Berkeley instituted a campaign to drive out Quakers and Baptists. Just



how many of these Quakers moved into the Albemarle Sound area cannot be ascertained, nor can precise dates be established. Persecutions had begun in New England much earlier, and it is possible that other Friends beside Henry Phillips came down from New England.

Probably the majority of the people making up the first eastern Carolina meetings were local residents who became convinced Friends. With no other religious body existing in the area, people turned to the Friends for religious fellowship. Addison Coffin recounts a tradition to the effect that fifteen or twenty young Friends came into the Albemarle District some time earlier, and finding it to be an inviting, unoccupied territory, set about claiming it for themselves.<sup>7</sup> Coffin gives no verification; hence the story must remain a tradition only.

The first *recorded* land deed in North Carolina was from the Indian Chief Kilcocanen to George Durant, March 1, 1661, registered much later, in 1717. Very little is learned from this fact other than that this was the first recorded transaction in which an Indian was paid for his land.<sup>8</sup>

There is much uncertainty as to how much William Edmundson knew about the Perquimans settlement before he set out on his epic journey in the spring of 1672. Apparently he had some knowledge of the area. To some extent at least the way was indicated by marked trees.<sup>9</sup>

The travel difficulties of William Edmundson were amazing, and had begun long before he reached America. In his *Journal* he states:

In our voyage, we were chased by a pirate . . . but immediately a cloud covered us, and a fresh gale of wind out of the cloud carried us clear away. Thus the Lord eminently saved us out of their hands.<sup>10</sup>

The epic journey of William Edmundson through southeastern Virginia to the spot now called Hertford in Perquimans County deserves to be recounted in full, but only a few excerpts can be included here. His arrival was on a Sunday morning in May, 1672. According to his *Journal* he was "weary and faint, and my Cloaths were all wet" — soiled with the black mud of the Great Dismal Swamp.

It was all wilderness and no English inhabitants or padways, only some marked trees to guide people; the first day's journey we did pretty well, and lay that night in the woods . . . The next Day being Wet Weather we were sorely soyled in Swamps and Rivers, and one of the two that were with me for a guide, was at a stand to know which way the Place



*Old Neck Swamp, Perquimans County*

lay we were to go into; I perceived he was at a Loss, turned my mind to the Lord, and as He led me, I led the way. So we travel'd in many Difficulties until Sun-set; then they told me, They could travel no further; for they both fainted, being weak-spirited Men: I bid them stay then and kindle a Fire, and I would ride a little further . . . I perceived a small path, and followed it till it was very dark, and rain'd violently; then I alighted and set my back to a Tree, till the rain abated . . . I walked all Night between two trees, and though very weary, I durst not lie down on the Ground, for my Cloaths were wet to the Skin. I had eaten little or nothing that Day . . .<sup>11</sup>

While Edmundson rested "on a Bed" for a little while, the Phillips family hurried about spreading the word: "Come to a meeting about the middle of the day!"

In spite of the ungroomed appearance of the preacher, what a glorious occasion this was, the first religious service of record in the Albemarle settlement! Edmundson stated that the people "had little or no religion," but they were eager and responsive.<sup>12</sup> The younger people had never been to a religious service of any kind, and had never heard a Gospel message. The Established Church of England had



done nothing in the colony; no minister was sent before 1700.

Fortunately, William Edmundson was a powerful preacher, filled with love and compassion. He wrote, "The Lord's Testimony arose in the Authority of his Power, and their Hearts being reach't with it, several of them were tender'd, and receiv'd the Testimony."<sup>13</sup>

The historian R. D. W. Connor gave an account of the occasion in this manner:

The first voice of a Christian preacher heard in North Carolina was that of a Quaker, William Edmundson, who came to the colony in May, 1672. He was a worthy bearer of the faith, and true interpreter of Quakerism; he personified the virtues of simplicity, piety, zeal and charity. Undaunted by difficulties, discomforts and dangers, he courageously plunged into the wilderness and carried his Gospel message to the scattered settlers whom the church had neglected and forgotten.<sup>14</sup>

The news of Edmundson's coming spread rapidly among the colonial settlers, and "great multitudes assembled to hear him." The seed fell upon receptive ground; the Quaker faith had been planted in colonial Carolina.

George Fox arrived in the fall of 1672. His visit was brief, eighteen days, but his powerful preaching strengthened the work which Edmundson had begun. According to his *Journal*, his travel difficulties and hardships were similar to those of Edmundson. This did not deter him, for he was a hardy soul. To quote Allen C. Thomas: "Neither wintry sleet nor the burning sun detained him. He forded streams, slept in the woods . . . with as much serenity as in the comfortable homes of his friends."<sup>15</sup> His return trip northward was even more difficult, for winter had set in. Part of the travel toward Maryland was "in an open sloop." The voyage was tempestuous. Most of the time he and those with him were "completely wet," and almost frozen.

A granite marker in Hertford bears this inscription:

#### EDMUNDSON — FOX MEMORIAL

Near this spot William Edmundson an English Friend held in May 1672 the first religious service of record in North Carolina.

Six months later George Fox, founder of the Religious Society of Friends, also visited this Section and held meetings among the colonists. Here was the beginning of the religious life of a great State.<sup>16</sup>

William Edmundson, undaunted by the hardships of his first journey, made a second pilgrimage to North Carolina in 1677, looking for his old friends who had accepted the truth on his first stay among them. He found Friends "finely settled." Travel conditions were no

less difficult, as his experience on the Patuxent River will indicate:

It was very cold, foul weather, sleet and snow, and we were all day and most of the night before we got to the place intended. When we got to shore I could neither go nor stand, except as two bore me up, one by each arm, I had such pains and weakness in my back and groins with piercing cold . . . We were forced to stay three nights on a small island, the weather being foul and stormy. We had no shelter but the open skies, the wet ground to lie on. This augmented my cold and pain, but the Lord bore up my spirit, and enabled me to bear it.<sup>17</sup>

The nature of the Quaker faith was such that it could flourish without special buildings, without the professional clergy of the Church of England, from which they had separated themselves. The Society of Friends grew under the primitive conditions of the day. Meetings for worship were held in homes. As the years passed, meetings were established ("settled") in different communities in the Perquimans-Pasquotank area. Quakers were the most numerous religious group in the Colony for the first fifty years.<sup>18</sup>

Very little is known about what happened in the way of setting up meetings before 1680, the date of the first written records now preserved in the Friends Historical Collection. As the decades passed, some organization slowly developed. The time came when there were enough local meetings to justify a quarterly meeting, which was held at various places in the Perquimans area. Very little business was transacted. The major value, perhaps, was in keeping the scattered groups united, and in maintaining a sense of spiritual fellowship.

One striking feature of the early Carolina Quaker movement was that meetings were known by their locations, rather than by specific names. All that can be found is that a meeting was begun at Henry Prows' or Christopher Nicholson's, or Jonathan Phelps'. The location thus sufficed for a name in most cases: Symons Creek, Suttons Creek, Narrows, or Jack Swamp.<sup>19</sup> (These various water courses were obviously named for early settlers.) Even after business meetings were held, the minutes began only with an opening statement such as — "At a meeting held at Henry Prows' . . ."

Gradually meeting places began to assume more fixed names, although quarterly meeting minutes open with such statements as these: "At a quarterly meeting held at Little River," or "at Perquimans," or some other place. For convenience the name "Perquimans Quarterly Meeting" is now commonly used, but this was not an official term.

Evidence that meetings for worship were first held in homes come from early Perquimans minutes:





*Wells Crossing, on the north side of Perquimans River, site of the first Meeting House in Perquimans County. It was called Upper Meeting House and later, Wells. Beech Spring Meeting House was across the river. Friends coming to Yearly Meeting at Wells or Old Neck crossed the river here. There is a record of a ferry here, then two float bridges, then Blanchard's Bridge which burned in 1863.*

1681 — A Meeting was established at Henry Prows' (Little River).

1681 — A Meeting was established at Christopher Nicholson's.

1681 — A Monthly Meeting was established at Jonathan Phelps'.

1684 — A Monthly Meeting was held at the house of William Wyat.

The first meeting houses were "at or near" some Friend's home, as the records show. Before meetings were sufficiently organized to have trustees to whom property could be deeded, the meeting house was built at some convenient location according to common consent.

Precisely when the first meeting houses were constructed is not known, but in the Minutes of Perquimans Quarterly Meeting (if we may use that name) the desire is expressed that "meeting houses be kept decent and in good repair."<sup>20</sup> Early references to meeting houses are as follows:

1703 — PASQUOTANK (Symons Creek) "a meeting house to be built at Pasquotank with as much speed as can be."

- 1704 — UPPER MEETING HOUSE (Wells) First in Perquimans County?
- 1705 — LITTLE RIVER (On the plantation of Joseph Jordan.)
- 1706 — LOWER MEETING HOUSE (Old Neck)
- 1706 — "Caleb Bundy asked approval . . . to build a meeting house near his residence."

Among the prominent members of these small meetings was Francis Toms, who worked closely with Governor John Archdale. He was a member of the Council, Deputy Collector of Customs, and Justice of the Peace. Gabriel Newby and Joseph Scott were also members of the General Assembly.<sup>21</sup> For several decades Quakers were in virtual control of the colony.

As to locations, Old Neck stood on the north landing for the Perquimans River ferry, near present State Road 1300. Little River stood near the place where the old stage road crossed the river, on the east side. Wells was located on the north side of the Perquimans River on lands belonging to Francis Toms, near Blanchard's bridge. Vosses Creek was near the head of the creek by that name. Symons Creek was located in Pasquotank County. Very little is known about Narrows and Newbegun Creek, although tradition locates the first near Elizabeth City, and the second near Weeksville. The old Perquimans Meeting was located eastward from Old Neck.

It should not be surprising that Friends did not select an official name for themselves during the early decades of the movement. Motivated by the power of a great new spiritual discovery, these people thought in terms of a universal Christian movement which was destined to include the whole world. They did not see themselves as being a denomination, or a sect, which required a specific name. This development was to come much later. In fact, no official action was ever taken in the way of adopting the name, "Religious Society of Friends." This came about gradually, more than a century after George Fox initiated the movement. The present-day claim that the name derives from John 15:14, 15 is correct in an indirect sort of way, for this scriptural basis is something of an afterthought.<sup>22</sup>

Braithwaite states that the first occurrence of the name "Society of Friends" can be traced back no earlier than the year 1773.<sup>23</sup> In a small booklet titled *Quaker Language*, T. Edmund Harvey suggests that this first official use of the term is found in an address to King George III, in that year.<sup>24</sup> Prior to that time, such terms as "Children of Light," or "Friends of Truth," were used. The British public applied the nick-

name "Quakers" to George Fox and his group of dissenters. At first this nickname was resented, but gradually it became accepted as a matter of course.

The lack of an official name for the corporate body is illustrated in the titles of early books and publications, and also in early deeds. For example, when Francis Toms, Sr., donated an acre of land "in Perq. Precinct, 11th mo, called Jan, 1705," the deed was made to "the Society of Protestant Disenters, Vulgarly called Quakers, whereon a Church is now built."<sup>25</sup> This meeting house is supposed to have been Vosses Creek, since this is where Francis Toms, Sr., lived. The precise spot is not known.

As late as 1787 when the deed to the writer's home meeting of Holly Spring was written, it was designated "for the use of the Society of people called Quakers." Dozens of similar instances could be cited.

Since Friends of the Albemarle area were meeting every three months for the consideration of their common concerns, why was the formation of a yearly meeting necessary? The most likely explanation is that by 1698 there were scattered groups of Friends farther away who found it very difficult to make the long journey every three months, but who might be able to attend once each year. George Fox was quite concerned that Friends keep in close touch with one another. Not knowing the geography very well, he had suggested in 1681: "If you of Ashley River [South Carolina] and you of Albemarle [North Carolina] held once a year, or once a half-year, a meeting together somewhere in the middle of your country, it might be well." Distance and travel difficulties made this impractical, and it was never carried out just this way.

The action taken for setting up yearly meeting was as follows:

At a Quarterly meeting at the house of Henry Whites this 4th day of the 4th month 1698: it is unanimes agreed by friends that the last seventh day of the 7th month in Every yere be the yerely meeting for this Cuntree at the house of Francis tooms the Elder.<sup>26</sup>

Gabriel Newby was probably the first clerk. (He was the son-in-law of Francis Toms.) The following minute is the opening statement for the year 1708:

Att a Yearly Meeting in North Carolina in ye 4th of 8th month 1708. The members of ye said meeting has appointed William Everigin to be Clarke instead of Gabriel Newby, by reason they think it will be more ease for him and not for any dislike they have of his being Clarke.<sup>27</sup>



*At a yearly meeting in North Carolina y<sup>r</sup> 4 of 1776*

*The members of y<sup>e</sup> said meeting has appointed William  
Berrigin to be Clarke of the yearly Meeting in stead  
of Gabriel Newbey, by reason they think it will be  
more ease for him and not for any dislike they have  
his being Clarke.-----*

*Where as we think there has been a miscarriage in us in  
im<sup>p</sup>act that business has not been carried on in right  
Order.*

*It is That the members of Each monthly meeting belonging  
To this yearly Meeting shall give an Account to y<sup>e</sup>  
Quarterly Meeting, of y<sup>e</sup> Estate of their Monthly  
Meetings. and y<sup>e</sup> members Appointed by the Quarterly  
meeting to bring the State of y<sup>e</sup> Quarterly meeting  
To the Next yearly Meeting.*

It seems that North Carolina Friends took the initiative in setting up a yearly meeting for themselves, rather than being formally established by a parent body, either Philadelphia or New England. Virginia Yearly Meeting was set up in 1673, but there is no indication of any action being taken by that body.<sup>28</sup>

For the first few decades most of the business had to do with getting the young organization into working order. The membership was growing, and a great deal of wisdom was needed to harmonize different elements coming from people who had little understanding of proper procedures.

Unfortunately, the records for the first nine years have been lost; so also have the minutes for the years 1805 to 1811. Otherwise the series is complete. To give some insight into what was said and done in these



early sessions, the following excerpts from 1708 and 1709 are given:

Where as we think their has been a remissness in us in time past that business has not been carried on in right Order. Viz, That the members of Each monthly meeting belonging To this yearly Meeting Shall give an Account to each Quarterly meeting of ye Estate of their Monthly Meetings. and ye members Appointed by the Quarterly meeting to bring the State of ye Quarterly meeting to the next yearly meeting.<sup>29</sup>

In response to this concern, the following statement appears the next year:

The representatives was Called over for our Quarterly meetings. Viz, Isaac Willson appeared, for Pequimans and says the last Quarterly meeting ended in Love and peace and things was Carried on peaceably. John Symons appeared for Paspatank and Little River, and Sayeth things are pretty Quiet among them.<sup>30</sup>

During the early formative years of the Quaker movement in Carolina, organizational development came about very slowly, from very small beginnings. These did not follow precisely the present-day, time-honored forms. Early Carolina Quakers merely met together for worship; there was little business to be transacted.

During the very early sessions of the Yearly Meeting personal conflicts and other such matters were considered, some of which could best be discussed with doors closed. At any rate, this statement appears:

Whereas this meeting finds it an In Convenience in having to many Fr. in our Yearly Meeting of business it is our judgment that our yearly meeting consist of twelve men so chosen now whose names are under-written. Besides the Inspection belonging to our meetings with the Friends of the Ministry —

Francis Toms	Emanuel Low
William Newby	James Davis
Thomas Pearce	John Hawkins
John Barrow	Henry Keeton
Timothy Clare	Edward Mayo
Samuel Nichols	Augustine Scarboro <sup>31</sup>

One small disturbance among Friends comes to light in one of the first preserved records of the yearly meeting. A difficulty had arisen between Francis Toms and his son-in-law, Gabriel Newby. It seems that when Gabriel Newby prayed in meeting, Francis Toms would not remove his hat, as was customary. When Gabriel preached, Francis Toms would turn his back as a "dislike to his testimony." Fortunately the yearly meeting was able to resolve the difficulty. A promise to live

in peace was secured from each.<sup>32</sup>

The minutes of the first yearly meeting sessions from which records exist (1708) contain this statement: "It is the judgment of this meeting considering the Undecency of Friends, in not keeping their places in meeting, that Friends keep their places as much as possible, and not run in and out, in times of worship and likewise in meetings of business."

For half a century, Friends were sufficiently numerous to be a strong influence in the Colony. A notebook of Professor John W. Woody contains the following paragraph which emphasizes this fact:

Henderson Walker writing from the Colony to the Lord Bishop of London says: "My Lord, I humbly beg leave to inform you that we have an assembly to meet Nov. 3, 1703 — over one half of the burgesses are Quakers . . . If your Lordship out of good and pious care for us, doth not put a stop to their growth, we shall for the most part — especially the children born here — become heathen." (Hawks, Vol. 2, p. 294.)<sup>33</sup>

A further indication of the influence of Friends upon legislation at the time of Governor Archdale is quoted by Professor Woody from the colonial records of South Carolina:

"And whereas there be several inhabitants called Quakers who upon a conscientious principle of religion cannot bear arms, and because in all other civil matters, they have been persons obedient to government, and very ready to disburse their monies in other necessary and public duties: Be it therefore enacted, that all such whom the present Governor, John Archdale Esq. shall judge that they refuse to bear arms on a conscientious principle of religion shall by a certificate from him be excused."<sup>34</sup>

A report to the Church of England in 1707 bemoans the number of Quakers in the Colony, along with "a great many that have no Religion but would be Quakers if by that they would not be obliged to lead a more moral life than they are willing to comply with . . ."<sup>35</sup>

Somewhat later, possibly around 1730 and the years following, a few Friends settled in the Cape Fear area. Little is known about them, for all records have been lost. The two Meetings were Carver's Creek, about 35 miles above Wilmington, and Dunn's Creek, about eight miles below Fayetteville. Dunn's Creek was laid down in 1772, said to have been the first meeting in Carolina to be discontinued.

In addition to the immediate Albemarle area, Quakers soon began

settling farther to the south. There is some evidence that Rhode Island Quakers were among the first settlers in the Core Sound area, around 1723. A meeting for worship was set up in 1733, and a meeting house built in 1736. The Core Sound Monthly Meeting, set up by Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, was the largest of this group of meetings. To it belonged seven preparative meetings: Core Sound, Clubfoot Creek, Beaufort, Upper Trent, Lower Trent (east of Newbern), Bath, and Mattamuskeet.

Five monthly meetings and one quarterly meeting (Bush River, 1791) were set up in South Carolina, all belonging to North Carolina Yearly Meeting. These meetings were located in three broad areas: the general Charleston area; the Marlboro County area to the northeast; and the Newberry and adjacent counties in the western part of the state.<sup>36</sup>

Altogether some thirteen local meetings were set up in South Carolina. Of these, the most outstanding was Bush River, which had seven subordinate meetings belonging to it: Allwood, Cane Creek, Mud Lick, Padgets Creek, Raybuns Creek, Rocky Spring, and Tiger River. Attendance at meetings for worship on special occasions was said to have reached five hundred.<sup>37</sup>

Although Charleston was favorably situated as a shipping and communications center, the meeting there did not prosper. According to an article appearing in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Lord Shaftsbury wrote that in June of 1675 Jacob Waite and two other families of "those called Quakers" were leaving for Carolina.<sup>38</sup> As more Friends arrived a plot of land was secured and a meeting set up. In 1682 George Fox replied to a letter from this body, addressing them as "Dear Friends of the Monthly Meeting at Charlestown on Ashley Cooper River in Carolina." When Samuel Fothergill visited Friends there in 1755 he wrote, "I am here among a poor handful of professors . . ."<sup>39</sup> The meeting slowly declined and ceased to exist.

In 1751 a group of Quakers from Ireland, after missing their North Carolina destination, landed at Charleston. From there they pushed inland to settle about 130 miles north of Charleston in Frederick Township on the Wateree River. There they established the Wateree Meeting. The settlement which they founded is now known as Camden, South Carolina. On account of migrations, the life of this meeting was tragically short, being laid down in 1782 by Western Quarter, to which it belonged.

Very little is known about some of the Quaker groups in South Carolina, but in December 1753, two Friends ministers found on the



waters of the Little Pee Dee River in Marlboro County —

... a few newly convinced Friends, some others under convincement  
... in the desolate spot; which was very distant from any Friends ...  
They had not a settled Meeting, [but were] busy in building a meeting  
house ...<sup>40</sup>

Five years later, in 1758, another visiting Friend wrote of them:

... though their circumstances in the world were but low ... Their love  
of truth, and diligence in attending meetings, are worthy of notice: for  
they had nigh one hundred miles to go to the monthly meeting they  
belonged to, and ... seldom missed attending it.<sup>41</sup>

Just how quickly meetings could be depleted by westward migrations is illustrated by the fact that only ten years after Job Scott reported "a heavenly meeting at Pee Dee" in 1789, the meeting was laid down.

After most Friends had moved away from Rabuns Creek, a union church was begun, which later became Baptist. Since this area had so long been identified with the Quakers, the place of worship there is commonly called the Union (Quaker) Baptist Church.<sup>42</sup>

The Wrightsboro (Georgia) Friends Meeting was the southern tip of Quaker settlements in the eighteenth century. The royal government of Georgia encouraged Quakers to come, offering them generous land grants. Some 124 grants were made to Quakers. The Revolutionary War proved to be a difficult time for the Quakers, and they migrated northwestward in great numbers.<sup>43</sup> Around 1805 one wagon caravan of forty families moving westward was reported. Thus came to an end the only large settlement of Friends in Georgia. The Wrightsboro Meeting was located a short distance from the present city of Augusta. It lasted less than forty years.<sup>44</sup>

In listing early North Carolina meetings, those in southeastern Virginia deserve a place of special recognition. These were a part of Virginia Yearly Meeting until it was laid down in 1844. At this time they became a part of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, continuing in this affiliation until Corinth and Somerton became a part of North Carolina Yearly Meeting in 1966, followed by Bethel in 1976. An excellent history of Somerton was written in 1972 by Elizabeth Hare Lasley, and a similar account of Corinth Meeting by Frances Neave in 1982. (It happened that the last session of Virginia Yearly Meeting was held at Somerton, 1844.)

During the first years of the eighteenth century the Quakers encountered growing opposition from the Church of England. The





story is too long and complex to be recounted fully here, but Francis Toms and other Quakers were ejected from the Council and Assembly through the ruse of requiring them to take the oath of office, which they refused to do. The process of wresting political control from the Quakers was well under way in 1710 when Edward Hyde was selected by the proprietors to be governor of North Carolina. He completed the process of eliminating all Quakers from any positions in the colonial government. Thus ended the political influence of Friends. Some decades later, in 1747, William Borden, a Quaker from Cartaret County was elected a member of the assembly, but he was denied the privilege of affirming ("affirmation") and a new election was called. During the following years of the colonial period, the Society of Friends existed as a spiritual influence only.

The Church of England divided the area into parishes. Two examples may be of interest: Orange County was St. Matthew Parish; Rowan County, which then extended westward from Orange with no precise western boundary other than the Pacific Ocean ("The Southern Seas"), was St. Luke Parish.

As the years passed, Friends from the tidewater area of North Carolina began moving farther inland. This migration formed the nucleus for the establishment of Contentnea Quarterly Meeting some years later. For example, Thomas Cox and his family moved from Core Sound in Carteret County to a grant of land on the south side of the Neuse River in Wayne County in 1740, some ninety miles to the west. Meetings for worship were held in the home of his son, Richard Cox, beginning around 1750. A preparative meeting (Neuse) was set up, and land was donated for a meeting house in 1782.<sup>45</sup>

For a time there were small groups of Friends at Lower Falling Creek and Upper Falling Creek, but these disappeared. Contentnea Monthly Meeting was set up, which was later transferred to the Nahunta monthly meeting. By this time Friends were establishing Meetings at Rich Square, Trent, and other places.

Before leaving this section some word with reference to native Indians seems to be in order. One striking feature of George Fox's travels across Virginia into North Carolina and back again in 1672 is the way in which he emphasized the kindness of the Indians.<sup>46</sup>

John Archdale's policies in dealing with the Indians during his years as governor were quite advanced for that day, somewhat similar to the policies of William Penn in terms of justice, respect and fair dealing. In turn, there was kindness and cooperative dealings on the part of the natives. For example, not long after Archdale had made a treaty with a coastal tribe, a company of adventurous immigrants from New England were shipwrecked on the Carolina coast. Upon seeing themselves surrounded by Indians, they barricaded themselves as best they could, expecting to be murdered. The Indians tried in every way to indicate their friendship, but the stranded immigrants would not trust them. Finally they had to throw themselves upon the mercy of the natives. Whereupon the Indians, in great kindness, furnished them provisions, and helped them to send a delegation to Charleston for assistance.<sup>47</sup>

Non-Quaker settlers did not maintain this kind of relationship. The white man's treachery in driving the Indians from their land turned the natives into enemies. In 1711 the terrible Tuscarora War

broke out. The enraged Indians, in a sudden surprise attack on the settlers near the mouth of the Neuse and on the south side of the Pamlico rivers, massacred the "invaders," as the Indians saw them. Terrible warfare ensued. Problems of bloodshed and violence had followed the Quakers to the New World.

## *Quakers in the Piedmont*

The coming of the Quakers to the coastal plain of North Carolina was a long, slow process. By way of contrast, the arrival of Quakers in the piedmont area came about quite suddenly, mostly between 1740 and 1775. In the years preceding 1740 a few families began moving westward away from the coastal lowlands. Addison Coffin cites a legend to the effect that some Friends began exploring "the branches of the Cape Fear River" by 1727, but admits that "records and dates are lost, if any were kept." This date seems to be far too early for any arrivals in the Piedmont proper.

Around 1730 a stream of Quakers, mostly from Pennsylvania, began to move southwestward through Maryland, across the upper Potomac, and into the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, establishing the Hopewell and Fairfax meetings in 1735 and 1745 respectively. They kept coming until there were five monthly meetings, twenty meetings for worship, and one quarterly meeting in this general area.<sup>1</sup>

Soon thereafter Friends began to move southward through Virginia into central North Carolina. The precise date is not known, but an article in the *Christian Worker* said that it was "about the year 1741."<sup>2</sup> This is somewhat later than the date given by Elmina Wilson in her "Reminiscences":

About the year 1730 my great-grandfather, Hugh Foster, came over from England and settled in Central North Carolina. . . . The land he entered was joining that on which the battle of Guilford Court House was afterward fought. It was unbroken forest. . . . The house was still in good repair when I grew up.<sup>3</sup>

Obviously there is no way in which one can establish the exact year of the first Quaker arrivals in the central part of the state. The above quotation is given to illustrate this fact. At any rate, these first families were mostly English and Irish immigrants who had come southward, following the Great Wagon Road from Philadelphia. It has been said



that this road was so much used by Friends that it was often called the Quaker Road.

The coming of the Quakers into piedmont North Carolina was the result of complex circumstances. First of all, the great Ohio Valley was closed because of French and Indian hostilities during the mid-1700s, but the South lay open — and inviting.

Religious persecution in New England and Virginia had ceased before 1740, hence the major reason for Quaker immigrations into piedmont North Carolina was economic. Conditions in England and Ireland were such as to put great pressure on Friends to seek a better life in the New World. In Ireland, after the wool and linen weaving trade had been suppressed, for many people there was a grim choice: migration or starvation! Ireland, though a beautiful country, simply could not support a dense population. There was no land available for the younger sons in an Irish family, and little other employment.

To such individuals, opportunities in the New World were presented in glowing terms by land owners and developers who were seeking laborers, especially in Pennsylvania. America was described as a country where there was total freedom. For those who had known hardship and oppression, this prospect was particularly appealing. Immigrants by the thousands turned their faces toward America.

Many of these immigrants coming down through Virginia left the Great Wagon Road soon after crossing the Virginia line, making their way southeastward toward the area now known as Alamance, Chatham, Guilford, and Randolph counties. A few settled in the Deep Creek area of Yadkin County, west of the Moravian settlement of Salem. Others settled in the Westfield area of what is now Surry County.

According to a recently compiled history of Yadkin County, the first settlements were made prior to 1750:

The first white settlers were Morgan Bryan, an Indian trader, and George Forbush. Bryan was a member of the New Garden Quaker community in Chester County, Pennsylvania in 1719. In October, 1730 he purchased 100,000 acres of land . . . In 1748 he moved his large family to North Carolina, making his home on the south bank of Deep Creek four to five miles above Shallow Ford on the Yadkin . . . Moving to the same area in the fall of 1748 was George Forbush . . .<sup>4</sup>

Quaker pioneers were entirely unaware that they were making history. They kept few records or diaries.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, very little is

known about their day-to-day experiences, their problems, their difficulties — even the exact routes they traveled. Apparently not all migrating units left the Great Wagon Road at the same point. Friends settling at Cane Creek, Spring, or Eno, for example, may have left it near Lynchburg, making their way in the general direction of Hillsborough and Hawfields. Friends settling at New Garden, Deep Creek, and other points may have followed the Wagon Road much farther southward.

Such trails as may have existed beyond the Great Wagon Road in the early 1700s permitted travel only on foot or on horseback. Just when these trails were widened enough for wagons or carts is not known. One fact is obvious: travel into the wilderness country was dangerous and difficult, and exceedingly slow.

In some instances, scouting groups coming into the area opened the trail a little farther into the wilderness, so that following groups could branch to the right or the left without having to clear a new road for the entire distance from the Great Wagon Road to the point of final destination. The virgin forests of that time contained more large trees and less undergrowth than is found today. Probably one of the greatest difficulties lay in getting across large streams in times of high water.

Just how much time this exploration took, no one can say precisely. Scouting the land along the streams, and looking for suitable springs of water where homes could be located, was not accomplished quickly. It was necessary to find spring water for the home, and a running stream for the livestock. These pioneers searched for rich soil along water courses, called "bottom land." Presumably these scouting parties remained long enough to build some form of shelter for their families before returning to New Jersey or Pennsylvania. Some clearings were made, so that planting could be done quickly when they came back with their families. Apparently a few single young men staked out land claims in Carolina before taking brides. Membership transfers to Cane Creek and New Garden meetings support this belief.

Quite often these men had difficulty in securing proper land-grants. When Carolina became a royal colony in 1728, the Carteret share was not returned to the Crown. This became known as the Granville District, which was the northern portion of the state, as far south as the present line running east-west between Randolph and Moore counties. Most piedmont Quakers settled in this area. Lord Granville did not grant fee-simple deeds. He issued grants, retaining the so-called ownership of the land for himself and his heirs. He called the settlers his tenants, renting his land for three shillings per hundred

acres.

During the time when Quakers were coming into the Piedmont in great numbers, Lord Granville died, and his office was closed. Many families had to be contented with squatters' rights, and with a mere "tomahawk survey," an old surveyor's term used to designate boundaries marked only by hacked trees. Settlers hoped their property rights would be secure until proper deeds could be obtained. The surveying was often imprecise, which gave rise to troublesome disputes later. Sometimes there were corrupt officials in the land office. At best, land grants or deeds were delayed for a long time. Dates on documents rarely coincided with the arrival of the settlers.

According to the best information available, very few families traveled alone. The hazards were too great: illness, a broken leg, a crippled horse. Moving a family from Pennsylvania to the central part of North Carolina was achieved only with much difficulty. Fortunately the temperate climate made pioneer settlement easier than in some other parts of the country.

Present-day lack of knowledge about southward migrations is scant. A hundred questions come to mind. What preparations were made for the journey? What animals were brought along, and what farm implements and tools? What household goods and utensils? How far could they travel each day, especially after they reached unbroken wilderness? Were there any serious accidents or illnesses on the way? What happened if a wagon broke down? Were they frightened by Indians or wild animals? Did they ever lose their way and become entirely lost? Did they have a guide? How were meals prepared and what did they have to eat? How did they manage to cross rain-swollen streams? How long were they on the road? Were meetings for worship held on First-day mornings, and were these observed as days of rest?

Some time after 1750 a considerable number of Friends settled in the Grayson and Carroll County area of Virginia, near the present town of Galax. In 1797 seven acres of land were deeded to "the Religious Society called Quakers." This tract contained a spring, a meeting house and a cemetery called the Old Quaker Graveyard. The large cemetery on the hillside holds markers from the 1700s to the present, including the Hanks family, maternal ancestors of President Lincoln. Apparently most of these Quakers moved to Ohio and Indiana during the first half of the nineteenth century, leaving very scant records. A few faithful people still maintain meetings in the Galax area today.



Many Friends, upon arriving from England or Ireland, had to remain in Pennsylvania long enough to obtain the supplies necessary for heading southward. A great many poor Friends, especially those from Ireland, did not have the money to pay passage to America. Labor was in great demand in the New World and ship owners developed a very profitable business transporting people who were willing to be "sold to pay passage," that is, willing to serve a period of time as indentured servants (two, three, or seven years) before beginning life on their own in the New World. In early colonial America, there were more indentured servants than African slaves.<sup>6</sup>

Hopefully most indentured servants were reasonably content, but in some instances their lot may have been a most unhappy one. The *Cape-Fear Mercury* for September 22, 1773, carried an advertisement offering three pounds reward for the return of "an Indentured Servant Girl named MARY KELLY lately from Ireland . . . about 18 or 20 years of age . . . stoops in her walking, fair complexion and reddish hair . . ."<sup>7</sup>

One fascinating story of an indentured servant is that of Anthony Chamness. As a boy of thirteen in London, while watching ships on the Thames, he was kidnapped, brought to America, then sold as an indentured servant. During his period of servitude he fell in love with Sarah Cole, an indentured servant girl. In order to hasten her day of liberation, he volunteered to serve part of her remaining time. When at last they were free to get married (ca. 1725) their equipment for housekeeping consisted of a broken wooden bowl which she had found, and a wooden spoon which he had whittled out for her. As soon as possible they moved southward to the Cane Creek area, and joined the meeting. They reared a large family of thirteen children.<sup>8</sup>

For early Quaker settlers in the Piedmont the question of Indian land-ownership arose. The Quaker conscience was troubled. One of the first acts of New Garden Meeting was to appoint a committee to see if the former Cherokee owners could be found in order that just compensation could be made. Few Indians remained in the area, and no former owners were located.<sup>9</sup>

Although piedmont Quaker settlers experienced few problems with Indians, the Moravians who had settled farther to the west had severe difficulties with Indians who had been incited to violence during the French and Indian War.

There are legends of Indians being encamped in the Centre community, and also in the Spring community, when the first Quaker

settlers arrived. Evidently these were scattered Indian families, not tribes in the ordinary sense of the word. There is an undocumented legend of Mary Barker, wife of John Barker, who was kidnapped by the Indians from the Holly Spring community. Some individuals think the story is a legend brought down from some earlier experiences in western Pennsylvania.<sup>10</sup>

Quakers were by no means the first and only settlers to arrive in the central part of the state in the mid-seventeenth century. Many German immigrants had preceded them, the earliest of whom settled in the Friedens Lutheran community of eastern Guilford County. Ulster Scots, mistakenly called Scotch-Irish, came in abundance.<sup>11</sup> The Moravians came a little later. They turned westward and founded the Salem, or Wachovia, settlement.

Quite a few Dutch settlers came down from New York and Pennsylvania.<sup>12</sup> A marker in the Holly Spring cemetery indicates that the first person to be buried there was of Dutch descent, Joseph Bookout (Boekhout?), "Age 105 years." When Job Scott visited in the vicinity of Back Creek in 1779 he held a meeting "on the waters of the Heworry [Uwharrie] where quite a few Dutch people were assembled."<sup>13</sup>

Ancestral backgrounds of all the many meetings cannot be examined, but Back Creek community is a good illustrative example. Into this area of western Randolph County, families from four or more different sources converged: Quakers from Eastern Carolina (the Whites, Winslows, Newbys, and others); Dutch from New York; Germans from Pennsylvania; and English and Irish coming down through Virginia from Pennsylvania. Deep River, Centre, Cane Creek, Springfield, New Garden and other older meetings also have fascinating genealogical backgrounds.

By 1750, Quaker settlers had arrived in the Cane Creek area in sufficient numbers to want a meeting established among them. They initiated proceedings for this purpose, as indicated by the minutes of the yearly meeting held in Perquimans County in 1750:

At a Yearly Meeting, 5th to 7th of 8th mo. 1750, held in the County of Perquimans and the Province of North Carolina, at the usual place . . . There was a petition presented to this meeting requesting of us liberty to Erect a Monthly Meeting on Cape Fear at Cains Creek amongst that new Settlement of Friends which petition friends think proper to answer by a few lines letting them know we are willing to be better informed in their Situation and Circumstances before we proceed to

grant their Petition and therefore let the said Petition lie over for a farther consideration.<sup>14</sup>

Since a written petition did not produce immediate results, Abigail Pike is reported to have said, "If Rachel Wright will go with me, we will attend Quarterly Meeting at Little River and ask that a Meeting be set up here" — at Cane Creek. These two intrepid women, along with traveling companions who were not named, rode two hundred miles through sparsely settled wilderness to carry forward the work of the Church. Records of Perquimans Quarterly Meeting the following year state that "our Friends Rachel Wright and Abigail Pike from Cane Creek at Cape Fear" were present.

Apparently their mission was successful, as the following excerpt from the minutes relative to Cane Creek Friends will show:

At a Quarterly Meeting held at Little River in the County of Perquimans the 31st of the 6th month 1751 — Several Friends from them Parts [Cane Creek] appeared at this Meeting & acquainted Friends that there is Thirty Families and upwards of Friends Settled in them Parts and Desire Still in behalf of themselves & their Friends to have a Monthly Meeting Settled amongst them, which Request upon mature consideration Friends think proper to grant & leave to themselves to settle [establish] it.<sup>15</sup>

This request was granted without sending a delegation to examine the situation and to make recommendations. Perhaps no one volunteered to make the journey! The same kind of permission was granted to New Garden in 1754, ". . . it appearing to this meeting that there is Near or Quite Forty Families seated in them parts."<sup>16</sup>

The settlement of all the early meetings in the central part of the state would be of interest, but listing them would be too extensive for this account. Of particular interest is the group of Friends who migrated from the Island of Nantucket (off the coast of Massachusetts) where about two-thirds of the people were Quakers.<sup>17</sup> This migration began in 1770, and ended in 1775, as the War for Independence approached. The threat of war with the British had something to do with their coming, for Nantucket was in an extremely exposed position. Perhaps a further reason was that the whaling industry upon which Nantucket Friends depended had declined. As Elijah Coffin put it: "The island of Nantucket being small, and its soil not very productive, a large number of people could not be supported thereon." (Libni Coffin was the first Nantucket Friend to arrive at New Garden.)<sup>18</sup> During a five year period, 1770–1775, forty-three certificates for Nantucket Friends were received by New Garden. Included were such





names as Barnard, Barney, Beard, Bunker, Clasby, Coffin, Coggeshall, Davis, Gardner, Gifford, Macy, Ray, Russell, Starbuck, Stanton, Swain, Sweet, Way and Worth.<sup>19</sup> Other Nantucket names were Wick-ersham, Reece, Dixon, Folger and Hussey.

Among the different groups of people migrating into central North Carolina during the second half of the eighteenth century were the Nicholites. This interesting group of people originated along the Maryland-Delaware border in the 1760s. The leader was Joseph Nichols, who in his early life had been quite a worldly young man. A great religious awakening transformed his life. He developed a large following of people who were "almost Quakers." They held meetings for worship in silence; they were strongly opposed to a "hireling ministry." They emphasized simplicity of dress and speech, rejected oaths and participation in war, and conducted their business meetings

much like the Quakers. Quite a number of them finally joined Friends, or migrated westward, until the Nicholites no longer existed as a separate group.<sup>20</sup>

As to the earliest meeting houses built in the Piedmont, precise dates are difficult to determine. Cane Creek was probably first. Land deeds are not always helpful. The Granville holdings in the northern half of the state were confiscated during the Revolutionary War, and it was a long time before deed problems were cleared up. In one instance, the deed is dated 1787, even though a meeting house was constructed some twenty years earlier. It seems that in piedmont Carolina as in the eastern part of the state, several meeting houses were built on private property. A deed was made at a later date.

Some individuals donating land for a building included a clause which provided for the property to revert to the original owner in case the meeting ceased to exist. One interesting example is a statement in the original deed to the Spring Meeting which conveys the property to "Robert Morrison and James Newlin . . . as trustees during their natural life if they do not revolt from the Society of aforesaid people."<sup>21</sup>

Pioneer living conditions in the Piedmont were quite similar to those which Friends had experienced in eastern Carolina much earlier. Homes were scattered and isolated, and each one was a unit unto itself, largely self-sufficient. Photography was non-existent at that time; no actual pictures of these early homes exist. Traveling Friends referred to "log cabins without windows." This is understandable, for glass was not available at first. Homes varied in size, naturally. A few were one-room structures. A front door and a back door were the only openings. This accounts for the old custom of leaving the door open for light in the daytime. The log house which the pioneer John Allen built in the Cane Creek community has been moved to the Alamance Battleground (of all places!) to serve as an early American museum, where some of these features may be observed.

Of necessity, pioneer homes were simple and plain. Furniture was of simple design, but native walnut and cherry, handcrafted with great skill, made pieces of beauty and good taste. Furthermore, everyone who could do so brought along from England many pieces of fine china, some of which exist to this day.

As soon as possible, more spacious homes were built, and evidences of prosperity appeared. The first primitive dwellings became relics of the past. One especially fascinating glimpse into an early Quaker home in the eastern part of the state (Piney Woods) was written by Timothy Nicholson, who moved to Indiana in mid-life.<sup>22</sup>

Until recent years, North Carolina was known among Friends as the state of large families. The number of children was often ten to sixteen! Some meetings grew, not by the number of "convincements," but simply by the birth rate. One outstanding family in the New Garden area was the family of William Armfield. His first wife died. When he remarried, his second wife, a widow, had ten children; he had eleven; then together they added two more, making a total of twenty-three.<sup>23</sup>

While the numerical strength of Friends in the eastern part of the state as compared with the Piedmont cannot be ascertained for any given year, it is of interest to note that when the first monetary assessment was made for paying a lawyer employed in behalf of manumitted slaves in 1778, the portion for Eastern Quarter Friends was 450£, and Western Quarter Friends 150£. This apportionment may have reflected ability to pay, or the number of slaves in the area, rather than the number of members.

Western Quarterly Meeting, as it is now known, was set up in 1760, but it was not given its present name at that time. The Friends living in the area were simply called "Friends of the Countys of Rowan and Orange," as differentiated from those of Perquimans and Pasquotank. More than a decade later, 1772, the terms Eastern and Western Quarterly Meetings came into use to distinguish the two geographically separate groups of Friends.

The privations and hardships of early settlers were severe, but a compensating factor existed: the promise of a good future! They knew the joy of building, achieving, and pushing forward in an atmosphere of anticipation. Hardships were considered to be merely temporary obstacles which could be accepted because of their great faith in the future. They were rich in spirit — as compared to people who have become discouraged and disillusioned. The hardest physical labor was made easier by cooperative social events: log rollings, house or barn raisings, corn shuckings, and the like. For the women there were quilting parties — but no square dances on Saturday night!

Legends may not be accurate in detail, but nonetheless they provide fascinating insights into early life in Quaker communities. Thus they became a valid part of our common heritage. Such is the legend of Anne the Huntress in the New Garden community. Her appearance was dramatic. The men of the area had gathered for a shooting match about one mile east of New Garden in 1790 or 1791. Suddenly a beautiful young woman carrying a highly ornamented rifle, shot



pouch, belt, hunting knife, and hatchet, stepped forward. Being given permission to enter the contest, she gracefully raised her rifle, took quick aim, and fired. The ball drove the center of the bull's eye sixty yards away! Quite easily she won the match, although the best sharpshooters of the area were assembled. She remained in the community for several years, teaching the children correct pronunciation and refined manners. Later, she disappeared as mysteriously as she had come. No one ever learned her true identity.<sup>24</sup>

Just as the mass migration of Quakers into the Piedmont was occurring, Britain finally decided to abandon the old Julian calendar which was running eleven days behind sun-time, and to adopt the Gregorian calendar. Thus January 1 became the beginning of the new year instead of March 25. To adjust the calendar to actual sun time, September 2, 1752, became September 14. Understandably, this change caused great difficulty — even in so simple a matter as birthdays. Quakers, along with others, resisted the change for a time, but finally accepted it.<sup>25</sup>

Quite a study could be made of “Friends as Others Saw Them” during colonial years. Some comments by Colonel William Byrd are of especial interest:

The Quakers Flockt over to this country in Shoals, being averse to go to Heaven the same way as the Bishops . . . By Diligence and Frugality, for which this Harmless sect is remarkable, and by having no vices but such as are Private, they have, in a few years . . . made a very fine country . . . We passt by no less than two Quaker Meeting Houses, one of which had an Awkward Ornament on the West End of it, that seemed to Ape a Steeple. I must own I expected no such Piece of Foppery from a Sect of so much outside Simplicity. That persuasion prevails much in the lower end of Nansemond County, for want of Ministers to Pilot the People a decenter way to Heaven.<sup>26</sup>

Much like hundreds of others down through the years, Charles Lamb admired the Quakers very much, but he did not want to join them:

I love Quaker ways, and Quaker worship. I venerate Quaker principles . . . But I cannot like the Quakers “to live with them.” I must have books, pictures, theatres, chit-chat, scandal, jokes, ambiguities, and a thousand whim-whams, which their simpler taste can do without. I

would starve at their primitive banquet.<sup>27</sup>

One noteworthy feature which characterized Quaker communities across North Carolina for the greater part of two centuries was the continued existence of certain family names in each of these localities. A comprehensive list cannot be given, but a few examples will indicate what a fascinating study this can be. Among the common names one finds in the Belvidere area are White and Winslow; in the Woodland community, Brown and Copeland; Goldsboro, Hollowell and Edgerton; Holly Spring, Allen and Cox; Back Creek, Lowe and Henley; Cane Creek, Stuart and Teague; Marlboro, Farlow and Coltrane; Springfield, Blair and Mendenhall; Centre, Hodgins and Hockett; Yadkin Quarter, Hobson and Shore; Corinth, Raiford and Neave; and so on. Obviously, scores of family names are not included here, but the point is made.

In recent decades, a mobile population is rapidly scattering the old families. Many pioneer names are no longer on membership rolls. There are no Coffins at New Garden, nor Barkers at Holly Spring.

## *Some Unique Customs*

George Fox had no thought of organizing a Protestant denomination in the modern sense of the word. First-generation Friends simply met to worship, to seek for the immediate presence of the Living Christ. With no ready-made patterns to follow, they simply did that which seemed to be right and reasonable, and in accordance with the Divine Will. It is not surprising that many unique customs originated.

The most widely known practices of early Friends were their meeting to worship in silence without any form of sacramental observance, their refusal to bear arms, their strict adherence to high moral and ethical standards, their refusal to swear oaths, and their extreme simplicity of speech and dress. Obviously, an oversimplified statement of this kind is inadequate, but at least it is a beginning.

With reference to non-conformist practices, it is important to note that Quakers were the first, and for a long time the only group of dissenters to obtain the recognition and consent of the law. They won this legal acceptance not by political strife, but mostly by quietly enduring whatever suffering their religious dissent brought upon them. This has been called a "sublime indifference to consequences." After a time, their integrity was so obvious that the laws had to yield. They "wearied down the opposition."

This is not the whole story, however. The above statements are merely to point out one aspect of the Quaker experience in England. The story of other dissenting groups, the changing political situations in late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century England, and the continued efforts of Friends to press for just laws, is outside the scope of this narrative.

Simplicity in speech meant far more than merely saying "thee and thou." It meant strict truthfulness — without an oath. In fairness, it should be noted that Quakers were not alone in this regard. The French Waldenses, for example, would also suffer imprisonment and death rather than violate their convictions in oath-swearing. British law was amended to permit an affirmation rather than an oath in 1715,



but full freedom from oath-taking did not come until 1833. Governor John Archdale, after returning from Carolina to England, was denied a seat in Parliament to which he had been elected because he would not take the required oath.<sup>1</sup>

Quaker honesty and sincerity forbade the use of flattering terms. These were rejected as constituting a kind of idolatry. In court, Friends refused to address the judge as "My Lord," or "Your Worship." Friends were respectful before duly constituted authority, but stopped short of baring their heads and bowing before anyone considered by the world to be superior. Thus it was that the custom of "wearing the hat" in public places came about.

A quaint instance of this Quaker practice was related by Adelaide Fries in a historical lecture at the yearly meeting sessions in 1949. She quoted from an old Moravian diary which contained this entry:

March 16, 1763. A Quaker who was spending the night in our tavern [hotel or hostel] attended the *singstunde* (song service), having stipulated that he might keep on his hat.<sup>2</sup>

Along with some other groups in the seventeenth century, Friends discovered that one may worship in silence without performing any outward sacramental observances. To these sincere seekers, communing with the Living Christ was an individual spiritual experience. In no other significant groups has silence in worship held such an important place as in the Society of Friends.

While George Fox worshiped in silence, as his *Journal* indicates, he did not institute it as a "ritual" for the corporate group. Obviously, he considered silence as a *means*, not as an end in itself. Sometimes it was a prelude to preaching. The Quaker ideal was well stated by British Friends: "We conceive of Christianity not as . . . a number of traditional observances; but as essentially an experience, and a way of life based on that experience."<sup>3</sup> Friends believed that intense *listening* for the Still Small Voice required the absence of distracting noise of any kind. Divine worship was to be entered into with proper reverence. In various Minutes of Advice Friends were advised to be punctual, and to avoid standing around in worldly conversation before meeting. They were also encouraged to take a little time for meditation and prayer before going to meeting.

Vocal ministry, when such occurred, tended to be somewhat intoned, rythmical, often emotional, and generally Scripturally based, with many passages quoted from memory. The central theme was the immediate presence of the Living Christ. Friends were exhorted to

“walk in the light,” and to “open their hearts to the Truth.”

When a worshipping Friend, under great exercise of spirit, knelt to pray, he did so with profound awe and reverence. Trembling in body and moved with emotion, he endeavored to present to his Creator the deep needs and desires of his heart. No one was ever called upon lightly to “offer a word of prayer.” Approaching Almighty God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, was far too awesome to be treated casually as a matter of routine.<sup>4</sup>

A meeting for worship continued until the Friends who were sitting at the head of the meeting felt that the proper time had come for closing the service. There was no formal benediction. Ministers and elders simply shook hands, thus signifying their spiritual unity in the Christian experience, and the end of the meeting.

As a matter of principle, there was no clock on the wall. Friends did not want their worship to be thus regulated.<sup>5</sup> They did not worship in a hurry, and predetermined schedules were not in keeping with their ideals of being led by the Spirit. The experience of Divine worship was far too sacred to be programmed and restricted.

The written minutes of the yearly meeting often began with an indication that the sessions began “near the time adjourned to . . .” Perhaps the major reason for this statement was a sincere desire to be entirely truthful. Even if there had been a clock on the wall, its absolute accuracy could not have been guaranteed.

With only minor variations, the early form of Quaker worship continued in North Carolina from the time of George Fox until the coming of the revival movement following the Civil War. Some of these changes and adaptations will be considered later.

George Fox perceived the dangers inherent in formal creeds. He saw that all truth was never revealed at any one given time, and that rigid, crystalized creeds tend to limit the continuing activity of the Holy Spirit in revealing further light to believers who live in changing circumstances and conditions. The concept of continuing Divine revelation was truly an innovation in seventeenth century England. People generally believed that no more truth could be revealed — ever. This meant in effect that when the canon of the Bible was closed, the Holy Spirit must thereafter be silent. Friends took a different view.

The letter of George Fox to the Governor of the Barbados (1671) was the nearest thing to a creed which early Friends had. This letter set forth their general beliefs and principles.<sup>6</sup> Statements by Edward Burroughs (1658) and by John Crook (1662) may have been available to

North Carolina Friends by 1680. These statements were formulated for the purpose of clearing Friends of false accusations, rather than dictating doctrines for those who were a part of the Society.

Among first-generation Friends, business meetings were not held until conditions and circumstances made it necessary to deal with various problems as a corporate body. The primary objective of a business meeting was to seek the Divine Will. They assumed that Divine guidance could be ascertained by listening to the Still Small Voice, which would lead them to find unity in that which was *right*.

The principle of group guidance thus came into operation. Non-professional people, with no hierarchy involved, developed a system of conducting business which was truly unique. This system went beyond democracy, in that no vote was taken. In case the desired leading — the desired unity — did not emerge immediately, there was a further time of waiting, seeking, listening. Rufus Jones has referred to the Quaker method in business meetings as a “real stroke of genius.” In spite of occasional problems which arose when Friends were too self-determined, the method worked amazingly well. It has been called a “meeting for worship in which business is conducted.”

As the years passed, many forms of procedure needed to be standardized, some of which were the accomplishing of marriages, the proper registration of births and deaths, guidance for the ministry, the guarded education of youth, acceptable burial procedures, and proper methods of dealing with various forms of aberrations such as fanatical behaviour and immoral conduct. When some general guidelines for carrying on the activities of the Society were finally formulated by the famous gathering of Elders in Balby in Yorkshire in November, 1656, it was made clear that a rigid legalistic system was not being imposed:

Dearly beloved friends, these things we do not lay upon you as a rule or form to walk by, but that all with the measure of light which is pure and holy may be guided, and so in the light walking and abiding these may be fulfilled in the Spirit — not from the letter, for the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life.<sup>7</sup>

Most histories of the Quaker movement have sections of the development of the Discipline in England. Especially valuable is “The Institution of the Discipline,” *Friends Library*.<sup>8</sup>

Early Friends did not formulate authoritarian rules and regulations.



Rather they adopted the unique custom of formulating "Advices," which expressed their religious convictions, and which set forth the kind of life which conformed to their ideals. These Advices were read in a "solemn and weighty manner." In the early years of the movement Fox formulated a series of deeply probing "Queries," the reading of which was intended to furnish individuals an occasion for spiritual self examination.<sup>9</sup> When these Queries and Advices were read in the atmosphere of Divine worship, moral and religious ideals were presented as an expression of corporate guidance and enlightenment.

The custom of preparing answers to the Queries began much later, in 1755. These were prepared by local meetings and forwarded to quarterly meeting, then to yearly meeting. Upon the basis of the information thus received, the yearly meeting formulated new epistles of advice and counsel for the local meeting. Monotony crept into answers to Queries, and into Advices, although some freshness and originality was maintained. Occasionally a gem of wisdom appeared. One year the observation was made in relation to tale-bearing: "If there were no listeners, there would be fewer tale-bearers."<sup>10</sup>

With changing times and circumstances, the Queries were revised in accordance with the problems facing the Society. In general, Friends were questioned as to whether they attended meetings for worship and business regularly; conducted themselves properly during times of worship; maintained love and unity; observed plainness in its many forms; taught their children to read the Scriptures; instructed Negroes under their care in moral living; relieved the necessities of the poor; drew up proper wills; kept faithful records of births, marriages and deaths. Along with these positive elements there were Queries about things to be avoided: gambling and lotteries; talebearing and detraction; excessive use of spiritous liquors; the frequenting of taverns and places of amusement; and participation in military activity. Friends were admonished to refrain from suing at law except by permission of the monthly meeting in unusual circumstances.<sup>11</sup>

Obviously, not all the Queries and Advices were of equal importance. For example, problems of slavery and war transcended the everyday problem of drowsiness in meetings for worship. For example, this admonition appears:

"As the appearance of a drowsy spirit in our religious meetings is offensive . . . it is earnestly desired that this weakness may not exist among us. And as indulgence therein must have a disqualifying effect . . . meetings should be cautious of appointing such, who give way to this weakness . . ."<sup>12</sup>

In addition to the Queries which were to be read and answered by monthly meetings, there appeared also a set of "Unanswered Queries" which were to be read once each year for the "benefit of serious self-examination . . . then seriously and deliberately considered, but not answered." These were discontinued with the 1893 printing of the Discipline.

During the lifetime of George Fox, persecutions were such that one of the first corporate activities was extending care to those who were in dire need. A Meeting for Sufferings was set up in 1675. As the years passed this body gradually assumed wider functions, becoming the executive arm of the yearly meeting between sessions. Philadelphia Friends established a Meeting for Sufferings at the outbreak of the French and Indian War in 1756.

In North Carolina, a Standing Committee was set up in 1759. The minutes for the first meeting of this body are not entirely legible, but do indicate something of the purpose and function of the group. Somewhat later, in 1772, a communication to the London Meeting for Sufferings contains a clear statement as to duties and functions of this committee:

Being appointed by our Yearly Meeting, a committee to have under our care any matters of consequence that may appear necessary between one yearly meeting and another, accountable to the yearly meeting . . .<sup>13</sup>

This Standing Committee served until 1824 when it was dissolved and a Meeting for Sufferings appointed. Its duties were similar to those of the Standing Committee, but were spelled out more fully. In 1880 the name was again changed to Representative Meeting. The duties were much the same, the major change being that each quarterly meeting should appoint two women to the Representative Meeting.<sup>14</sup> This body became the Permanent Board in 1902, and the Representative Body in 1970, much enlarged in number and in responsibilities. In essence, however, the original purpose was maintained: to transact the necessary business of the yearly meeting between annual sessions.<sup>15</sup>

The origin of a formal Discipline in North Carolina is somewhat obscure. Stephen B. Weeks states that a request for help in formulating and establishing a church discipline was sent to Philadelphia by both Virginia and Carolina Friends in 1702, as indicated by records in

the archives of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.<sup>16</sup> Since extant records of North Carolina Yearly Meeting begin in 1708, it is not known precisely how the matter was handled, other than that a committee was appointed by Philadelphia Friends in 1703. An isolated statement appears on the inside of the title page of the first existing book of minutes for North Carolina Yearly Meeting, apparently inserted by a Friend who had charge of the minutes much later. It reads: "In 1755 the Yearly Meeting revised the discipline made by the yearly meeting of 1704." Most likely the committee of Philadelphia Friends had responded with a few simplified procedural guidelines, which Carolina Friends felt free to adapt to their own particular situation and circumstances.

Not until 1738 did London Yearly Meeting produce what might rightly be called a Book of Discipline. This was sent in manuscript form to local meetings.<sup>17</sup> Just how soon a copy may have arrived in Carolina is not certain. Since Carolina Friends looked to Philadelphia for leadership and guidance, one might presume that anything coming from London would be shared with Friends in the South.

A later edition of the Discipline arrived in 1755. The yearly meeting directed that four manuscript copies be made and distributed to monthly meetings.<sup>18</sup> The oldest and earliest Book of Discipline now extant is a hand-written copy, with this notation on the back page: "This Book Belongs to Center Monthly Meeting an: 1770."

The front page begins thus:

THE BOOK OF DISCIPLINE OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS FOR  
NORTH CAROLINA

From our yearly meeting held at the Old Neck in the county of Perquimans in North Carolina from the tenth to the twelfth of the tenth month 1755 inclusive — To the Several Quarterly and monthly meetings thereunto belonging . . .

Dear friends this meeting being Religiously concerned to promote the good and wholesome Discipline Established in the wisdom of truth among friends, and in order that we may appear as one Family wherever we are gathered into a Distinct or Religious Society as well as for the Instruction or Direction of each particular member in regard to the Rules laid down by our worthy Friends in Philadelphia as a plan of Discipline necessary to be in practice in each Respective Meeting . . .

The following pages of this neatly written manuscript spell out directions for the orderly transaction of business, such as receiving and transferring membership, and the like. Provision is also made for the proper order to be followed in disowning individuals who refused to live in accordance with the principles and testimonies of Friends.<sup>19</sup>



The journal of Joshua Evans who visited the sessions of North Carolina Yearly Meeting held at Symons Creek in November, 1796, contains this interesting note:

I attended the committee on revisal of their discipline, that was short and to my satisfaction. I gave many clost [close] hints that seemed well received . . .

A printed edition of a North Carolina Discipline was published in 1809, but the Friends Historical Collection contains only excerpts from it.<sup>20</sup> The title reads as follows: "The Discipline of Friends, Revised and Approved of by the Yearly Meeting. Held at New Garden in Guilford County, North Carolina, from the 30th of the 10th month to the 3rd of Eleventh Month inclusive, 1809." Printed editions adopted in the following years are in the Historical Collection: 1823, 1838, 1854, 1869, 1876, 1880, and 1893, along with all twentieth century revisions.

While North Carolina Friends have formulated their own books of discipline since the beginning of the nineteenth century, this has not been done entirely alone. For example, the first seven pages of the 1838 Discipline contain a report of a General Committee of Friends from New England, New York, Baltimore, Virginia, North Carolina, Ohio, and Indiana. These Friends, "having met in Baltimore, agreeably to appointment, on the 1st day of Seventh month, 1833, proceeded to the consideration of the subjects directed to their attention by the several Yearly Meetings." Obviously these Yearly Meetings felt a strong sense of inter-dependence, and a strong desire for their customs and practices to be in harmony, as further statements from the Baltimore Conference indicate:

We have renewedly been made sensible that the design of Infinite Wisdom . . . has been, that we should be, however widely scattered, one body, holding the same precious Truth, and bound together by the bonds of Gospel fellowship, Christian communion, and Brotherly love; that we should be members one of another, having so near and intimate a relation to each other, that if one member suffer all the members suffer with it . . .<sup>21</sup>

During the early years of the Quaker movement there were no official membership rolls.<sup>22</sup> Generally speaking, people who attended meetings for worship, and who held to the principles and practices of Quakers, were considered to be members. As persecutions became more severe, families who were in need of special care had to be listed,

There is a copy of the

Book of Discipline of the people  
called Quakers in North Carolina

From our yearly meeting held at the old  
Meck in the County of perquimans in North  
Carolina from the tenth to the twelfth of  
the tenth month 1755 Inclusive -

To the Several Quarterly and monthly  
Meetings thereunto belonging -

Dear friend this meeting being Religiously  
concerned to promote the good and wholesome Dis-  
cipline. Established in the wisdom of truth  
amongst friends. and in order that we may ap-  
pear as one Family wherever we are ga-  
thered into a Distinct or Religious Society -  
as well for the Instruction or Direction of -

but not in an official roll book. Furthermore, when fanatical behaviour occurred, as did happen frequently, the new movement had to clear its good name by publishing to the world its disapproval of, and disassociation with, any form of conduct which was "not in the honor of Truth."

As to membership, British Friends took a step in 1737 which was to affect the Society for two centuries. A minute was adopted which read in part as follows:

All Friends shall be deemed members of the Quarterly and Monthly meetings within the compass of which they inhabit . . . and the wife and children to be deemed members of the Monthly Meeting of which the husband or father is a member, not only during his life but after his decease.<sup>23</sup>

In this way "birthright membership" for children came into existence. It had long been the custom to regard the children of Friends as being within the scope of special care; but this action, which marked a turning point in Quaker history, made them *members*. This step seems to have been taken without due consideration, without giving thought to the far-reaching consequences it would have upon the Society for generations to come. When individuals became Quakers by birth rather than by personal experience ("convincement" or "conversion") Quakers tended to become even more tribal than the Puritans, whom they had criticized in this regard. Carolina Friends thus inherited birthright membership without ever having really evaluated its merits. Apparently the matter remained unquestioned until an English Friend, John Moon, published two pamphlets in 1809 and 1815 opposing the practice. In these writings he claimed that Friends refused even to discuss the theological implications of birthright membership. His meeting thereupon disowned him because his pamphlets had not been submitted for approval before publication.<sup>24</sup>

The merits of birthright membership have been debated considerably. Some Friends have claimed that it has been highly detrimental, tending to make the Quaker faith a mere tradition, a privilege of birth. Others have defended the practice, claiming that there is a positive value in making children an integral part of the meeting from their earliest years. A change in this form of membership will be considered in a later section.

Three steps were generally involved in setting up new meetings:

1. An indulged meeting for worship. This status was granted to a group of people who requested the privilege of holding meetings for worship among themselves when it seemed that this could be done "to the honor of Truth."
2. Preparative meeting. This status was granted by the quarterly meeting to a local unit of Friends who were thought capable of preparing items of business to present to the mother meeting for consideration and approval.
3. Independent monthly meeting. This final stage came about when the



local unit was duly established and organized under the direction of the quarterly meeting.

As to meeting houses, Quakers did not bring to America any distinctive form of architecture other than utilitarian plainness. In exterior design, a great many early meeting houses were of a simple elongated design, with two front doors. This arrangement enabled the builders to construct a partition (shutters) which could be closed to separate the men's business meeting from that of the women; then opened for periods of general worship. Persons not familiar with the custom of separate meetings for men and women might have difficulty in understanding a statement appearing in the minutes of the women's meeting in 1782: "Our dear friend . . . with raised shutters exhorted the daily reading of the Scriptures." Holly Spring Meeting House (1890) was the last in the yearly meeting (Friends United Meeting) to have shutters dividing the interior into the men's and women's sections. This building has now been replaced with a modern structure resembling most others across the state. Meeting houses of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) still retain the old interior to some extent. West Grove and Holly Spring (Friendsville) have shutters, but the shutters are not used to separate men's and women's meetings. At West Grove the men still sit on the right side of the room.<sup>25</sup>

In early Friends meeting houses, the benches had no backs. For example, the diary of a young woman in New Jersey (1820) contained this entry: "Went to Quaker Meeting. Got the backache; no wonder, had no backs on their benches." In the writer's possession is a bench from Holly Spring which was probably made in 1830. It has a single board back which was apparently attached at a later date. In the John Collins painting of the New Garden Meeting House, 1869, only the facing benches have backs, perhaps for the comfort of elderly elders.

It seems that most of the early Carolina meeting houses had no provisions for heat. A few may have had fireplaces. When stoves became available, the smoke was conveyed as far as the attic space. From there the smoke filtered out as best it could. This condition existed at New Garden, Deep River, Holly Spring, and perhaps other places. Photographs and paintings after 1850 show no chimneys. Just why there were not more disastrous fires is a mystery.<sup>26</sup>

As to marriage, first-generation Quakers would not conform to the common customs of the day. They would not employ a magistrate or a

priest to perform a wedding ceremony. Rather, they developed a practice which was in keeping with their spiritual ideals. Believing that only God himself could properly unite two hearts and lives in the holy bonds of marriage, they arranged for the young man and young woman to stand up in a meeting for worship and say their own vows — “In the presence of God and before these friends . . .” A certificate was duly signed by the bride and groom, and a large number of witnesses. This document was carefully recorded in the minutes of the meeting, and a copy sent to the quarterly meeting for safety purposes. For many years English law did not recognize such marriages as being legal. Naturally both priests and magistrates declared that these young couples were not legally married and therefore were living in adultery. By 1661, however, the British courts decided that the Quaker custom was in reality a common law marriage, and so the matter stood until 1754 when Quaker marriages were made legally acceptable under English law — a full century after the beginning of the Quaker movement.<sup>27</sup> In colonial Carolina conditions for Quakers were more favorable. In 1778 after the state had separated itself from Britain, the Assembly passed an act which ratified previous actions taken before the War for Independence, stating definitely that “the people called Quakers shall retain their former Rules and Privileges in solemnizing the Rites of Matrimony in their own church.”<sup>28</sup>

Early Friends had special reasons for keeping careful records and making wills. During these years, if a person died intestate, it could be said that his wife was not his legal widow, and that the children were therefore illegitimate. This could deprive them of all property rights, in the absence of written records. During the first century of the Quaker movement, careful and accurate records of births, marriages and deaths were a necessity. Incidentally, this custom proved to be of great value to historians and genealogists in the generations to follow.

Young Friends contemplating marriage “stated their intentions” to their local monthly meeting, which in turn appointed a “clearness committee” to see if any obstructions might be present, and to evaluate the advisability of the proposed marriage.<sup>28</sup> This may sound a bit authoritarian, but when carried out in loving concern, everything was intended to be in the best interest of the individuals involved. Hasty and ill-advised marriages were avoided, along with the grief which would inevitably follow later. When the elders in the meeting perceived that an impending marriage was highly inadvisable they did not hesitate to advise against it. Young people could feel that the meeting as a whole was concerned for their welfare and happiness, and that loving care was being extended to them in the establishment of a new

home.<sup>29</sup>

Disownments for marrying out of meeting will be considered later. For the moment, it is helpful to remember that Friends were not the first to face the problem of "mixed marriages." King Solomon himself stands as a spectacular example of what not to do!

The ideal of simplicity applied not only to weddings, but also to funerals. An ordinary meeting for worship was held. Friends assembled in silence, with a few Friends speaking briefly, or offering prayer. There was no music or flowers, no liturgy, and no one "officiating." At the graveside, there was a brief time of worship and possibly a prayer which usually expressed appreciation for a good life, and requested God's blessings to rest upon the sorrowing family.

Quakers have had a continuing problem with simplicity.<sup>30</sup> Obviously this is a relative term; precise lines could not be drawn when it came to "staying with plainness." Some incidents of "straining at gnats and swallowing camels" have occurred, naturally. One example of this difficulty was the statement in the Book of Discipline for 1823 relating to grave markers:

Friends are also enjoined to maintain our testimony against affixing superfluous monuments of any description to graves; and if any are placed thereat, they be removed.<sup>31</sup>

It seems that this provision was not strictly observed. Around 1827 Deep River Quarterly Meeting sent a request to yearly meeting asking that this disciplinary requirement be obeyed. After the manner of Friends, a committee was appointed "to consider on the reference from Deep River Quarter." Apparently some foot-dragging was involved. The issue was controversial. The decision to defer the matter "to a future sitting" allowed a bit of time for more mature thought. Holly Spring Meeting, for example, took the matter under due consideration, and came up with a compromise in 1831 which seemed to be satisfactory:

It is the judgment of the Meeting that it Shall not be admissable here after for Friends or others to place at graves in our graveyard anything beyond a natural unwrought Stone with letters inscribed thereon by those who Desire it . . . With respect to those beyond this description already placed thereat it is our judgment that it would not be prudent to remove them, with which the Meeting unites.<sup>32</sup>

The desire of Friends to stay away from ostentation can be appre-



ciated, but the number of unmarked graves in old cemeteries is distressing to people seeking names and dates of Quaker ancestors.

The plain language meant avoiding frivolous conversation, and avoiding the use of titles of honor when speaking to people of prominence. Days of the week and months of the year were designated by number, rather than by the use of pagan terms such as Sunday, or January. As a matter of principle, the singular "thee" or "thou" was used when speaking to a single person. The use of "you" to an individual was unacceptable because it was considered to be a false implication of plurality, a sort of flattering title. Incidentally, the plain language as used by the writer's grandparents and most other North Carolina Friends of that generation rarely included the nominative "thou" in ordinary conversation; "thee" was used instead, even when grammatically incorrect. The plural "you" was used, however.

In recent decades, language usage has been so changed that "thee and thou" are rarely heard, except when an individual is addressing the Almighty in public prayer, and uses these terms as an indication of reverence. The original Quaker reason for using this part of the plain language has disappeared.

Before leaving the subject of Quaker customs, an additional word about unique expressions might be in order. Not having inherited any ecclesiastical jargon, recording clerks expressed things in whatever way seemed most accurate. Important matters were "brought under solid consideration." When all business items had been duly cared for, and "minds were clear," the meeting "solemnly adjourned to the next in course." "The sense of the meeting" meant a meeting of minds — in unity, and in accordance with the Divine Will. When monthly meetings alternated between two local meetings, they were said to meet "circularly."

In the rich experience of Quaker worship, the people were said to be "in a gathered state," and "under the covering of silence." Undue busy-ness was called "creaturely activity," or "fleshly bustlings." Older and more experienced persons whose wisdom was especially respected were called "weighty Friends." When a person spoke in meeting, he or she was said to have "appeared in the ministry," or "appeared in supplication." John Griffith, in speaking of the vocal ministry in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting expressed it this way: "About 100 opened their mouths in public in a little more than a year."

Perhaps the most significant feature of early Quaker terminology was the hesitation to use the sacred name of God in everyday speech. T. Edmund Harvey once made a study of the substitute terms used, such as Divine Wisdom, Infinite Goodness, Divine Providence, and the like. He arrived at a count of more than forty different terms. Incidentally, when a minister talked too much and too long, he was said to be "running out into words." Religious visits to homes were called "family sittings."

The names given to little girls were often the names of Christian virtues: Charity, Patience, Peace, Prudence, Obedience, Comfort, Verity, Faith, Hope, Felicity, and the like. In Eastern Carolina the Nicholson family, after escaping persecution in New England in the late 1600s, named their daughter Deliverance. Perhaps the two most unusual names for girls found in old Quaker records were Beersheba and Jezebel. Maybe the parents had not read the Old Testament carefully. Most boys were given biblical names, from Aaron to Zacharias.

## *Friends and the War for Independence*

During the early years of settlement, North Carolina Friends enjoyed religious freedom. Their good fortune in this one regard, however, did not mean that all was well in the New World. Hardly had piedmont Friends become settled in their new homes when problems of excessive taxation and extortion confronted them. Even though British colonial policies were more advanced than those of other European countries, the idea prevailed that colonial possessions should be a source of revenue. Britain sought to acquire wealth through lucrative trade with the colonial outposts of the Empire, as well as through direct taxation.<sup>1</sup> In a nutshell, British colonial policy was to secure cheap raw material from the colonies, take it to England for manufacture, then sell the product back to the colonials. This did not create a great problem in early Carolina, for little local manufacturing was done prior to the Revolution.

With reference to money, specie was scarce in Carolina from the beginning, for the settlers brought almost none with them. Consequently not enough money was in circulation to supply the basis for ordinary commerce, nor for the payment of taxes. Of necessity colonial settlers depended mostly upon the barter system for carrying on their economy.

Governor Tryon's fabulous palace, built at a cost of about fifteen thousand pounds, proved to be a symbol of the insensitivity of eastern officials to the grievances of the back-country farmers. Small wonder that trouble should be brewing in the piedmont area.

Unfortunately, the agents of Tryon, Dobbs, and others, along with the agents of the Granville District, resorted to unscrupulous extortion. Governor Tryon himself admitted that "the Sheriffs have embezzled more than one-half of the public money ordered to be raised and collected by them." Tryon's agent, Edmund Fanning, was tried in the court at Hillsborough in 1768 for taking excessive fees. Of



necessity he was found guilty, but was fined only one penny and court costs. In effect this was encouragement to continue his practices. Quaker settlers found that injustice and oppression had followed them to America.

In countless instances, when people could not pay their taxes immediately, their homes were distrained and sold, often for a very small sum, to accomplices of the collectors. These tax collectors were often accompanied by armed guards. Tobacco, grain, wool, and other commodities could be used as money to some extent, but this did not completely solve the problem.

These conditions gave rise to the Regulator movement, which was an effort on the part of the people in the central part of the state to "regulate" the affairs of the colony in accordance with reasonable measures of justice. A great many Quakers were involved, especially those living in the area now making up Alamance, Chatham, Randolph and Guilford counties. For the most part, though not entirely, the Regulator movement was made up of honest men who believed that flagrant injustices could and should be corrected through "true and proper regulation." It was a local protest movement, and is not generally considered a part of the War for Independence.<sup>2</sup>

Unfortunately, a movement is more easily begun than controlled. Violence entered the picture. A number of Regulators (not Quakers) took an oath to "leave the plow and take up the gun" if occasion should arise. At this point, most Quakers quietly withdrew their support. Those who did participate in violent activities were disowned.

Eventually there was an armed clash between the Regulators and Governor Tryon's troops at the Battle of Alamance in 1771. The Regulators were quickly overcome by the Governor's well-trained, well-armed troops. Twelve of the main leaders of the Regulator movement were captured and sentenced to be hanged at Hillsborough. Six of these men were pardoned by Governor Tryon.<sup>3</sup>

One of the leaders of the Regulators was Herman Husband, a resident of the Cane Creek area. He was a man of great ability and strong character, who had acquired great land-holdings, perhaps more than three thousand acres. He was of the Quaker persuasion, although he had been disowned earlier by the Cane Creek Meeting for speaking too critically of certain actions which the meeting had taken. Apparently, Herman Husband did not wish to see the Regulator movement culminate in an armed clash. He, along with Dr. David Caldwell,

endeavored to act as mediators and peacemakers before the Battle of Alamance. Their best efforts failed; both factions were adamant. When Husband "realized the hopelessness of the situation he mounted his horse and quietly rode away."<sup>4</sup> Governor Tryon placed a price upon his head; the gallows faced him if he remained. At any rate, his landholdings were mostly lost — confiscated by the state.

To indicate something of the political philosophy of Governor Tryon, an excerpt from a sermon (based on Romans 13:2) preached by his chaplain to the troops at Hillsborough was in part as follows:

The Apostle gives us in these few but awful words, They that resist shall receive to themselves damnation; not only condemnation in the world, but eternal vengeance in the life to come. — God has therefore been pleased, by his holy Apostle, to pronounce the sentence of inevitable perdition upon all those who refuse subjection to lawful power and authority.<sup>5</sup>

The Regulators were crushed. No one can say just how much good was accomplished, for oppressive taxation policies continued, and life continued to be difficult. Greater calamities were to follow in the decades ahead.

Although Carolina Quakers had problems, they bore no hatred toward the Mother Country. Many older residents of the piedmont area had been born in Britain. Many had brothers, sisters, and other relatives who were still there. The ties were very close.

There was one bright spot for Carolina Quakers in the years following the French and Indian War. After many petitions requesting exemption from military duty had been sent to the Assembly, a long awaited exemption was promised to those who could produce a "certificate of membership in good standing" in the Society.<sup>6</sup> This was in 1771. Immediately the yearly meeting sent a letter ("memorial") of appreciation to the Assembly, expressing the hope that "no disadvantage will ever arise to our fellow-subjects from your favor to us therein."<sup>7</sup> Fearful that unscrupulous persons would try to take advantage of the favor granted to Quakers, they added this word of assurance to the Assembly: "We shall think of ourselves in duty bound to use our best endeavors to detect Hypocritical pretenders . . ."

The liberal policy of the colonial government in granting exemption from military service to Friends-in-good-standing proved to be of brief duration. By 1775 tensions between the American Colonies and Great Britain had intensified to the point where armed conflict was

being anticipated. The complicated circumstances leading up to the American Revolution are beyond the scope of this brief narrative. The point to be made at the moment is that Friends were soon to be faced with military conscription, much to their distress.

Foreseeing the storm clouds which were rising on the horizon, the yearly meeting in 1771 appointed a committee to visit the Governor of the Province, Josiah Martin, taking with them a message asserting anew their desire to be good law-abiding citizens, and also asserting their basic loyalty to the existing government. Having experienced so many false accusations, Friends wished to reaffirm their denial of "all wars, fightings and insurrections," as excerpts to their message to Governor Martin will show:

Permit us, at this time, to assert our Loyalty . . . and although we Differ in some of our Religious sentiments and conduct from some of our fellow subjects, yet we are true Friends and well wishers to good government, and do assure the Governor that our dissent doth not Proceed from any Disregard to Laws or Customs, but from motives to us Purely Conscientious, and therefore we do humbly crave the continuance of the great Indulgences lately granted to our Society in this Province . . . as we wish to behave ourselves as faithful subjects. We sincerely Desire that the Almighty may be pleased to endue thee with wisdom and Qualify thee to be instrumental to Restore Peace and Tranquility to this distressed Province . . .<sup>8</sup>

The position of Friends can be better understood when one takes into account the fact that in England during the century preceding they had endured much on account of civil wars and revolutions. From the days of Oliver Cromwell, Friends had been falsely accused of being involved in traitorous political plots of all kinds. The well-known letter of George Fox to the Governor of the Barbados was an effort to clear the name of Friends from false accusations. Fox admonished his followers to be law-abiding citizens when the Christian conscience permitted. The very concept of armed revolution was a violation of their religious convictions. His advice was this: "Whatever bustlings or troubles or tumults or outrages should arise in the world, keep out of them . . ." In his well-known address to King Charles II in 1661 he said: "We do utterly deny all outward wars and strife and fightings with outward weapons, for any end or under any pretense whatsoever. And this is our testimony to the whole world."<sup>9</sup>

Going to war over policies which patience and wisdom could have resolved was simply not the Quaker way. Taking up guns with which to kill fellow human beings, whether British or American, was un-



thinkable. Along with the Quakers, the Moravians and many others promised to remain "quiet people," avoiding any involvement in the disputes separating the Americans and British.<sup>10</sup>

The prospect of armed conflict filled Friends on both sides of the Atlantic with dread and sorrow. They proposed and insisted on conciliatory policies designed to prevent bloodshed. In Britain, Quakers pointed out the short-sighted nature of colonial policy, and warned of impending disaster unless wrongs were righted and a genuine program of conciliation adopted. In the Colonies, leading Quakers counseled reason, restraint and patience in dealing with the policies of the Mother Country. Gradually their voices of reason were overcome; violence prevailed.<sup>11</sup>

An Epistle of Advice was sent to the local Carolina meetings in 1775 which said in part:

According to this our ancient and Innocent Principle we give forth our Testimony against all Plottings, Conspiracies and Insurrections against the King and Government whatsoever.<sup>12</sup>

Friends did not arrive at this position lightly, for when war with the Mother Country broke out, they were faced with an agonizing conflict of loyalties. Over against their loyalty as British citizens was another loyalty: devotion to the New World where they had chosen to make their homes.

Not only Quakers, but the population generally had a terrible conflict of loyalties. People were divided into three groups: Tories (Loyalists); Whigs (Colonials, or Patriots); and those who wished to remain neutral. Benjamin Franklin estimated that about one-third of the population was in each one of these groups. As the war progressed, neighbors, even families, became divided. This basic division within the colonial population caused the War for Independence to become in large measure a civil war.

Engulfed in a war not of their desire nor of their making, Friends in North Carolina, Virginia, and New England sent representatives to Philadelphia, the leading American yearly meeting, to seek counsel. The advice was plain and clear: "Take no part in the violence." This policy of neutrality and non-participation brought great problems upon the Society of Friends in the years to follow.<sup>13</sup>

When military conscription came, Friends did not hesitate to make their position clear. A declaration of the Meeting for Sufferings, dated 12th Month, 20th, 1776, stated:

Thus we may with Christian firmness withstand and refuse to submit to the arbitrary injunctions and ordinances of men who assume to them-

selves the power of compelling others . . . to join in carrying on war, and of prescribing modes of determining our religious principles . . .<sup>14</sup>

The yearly meeting sent messages to local meetings advising Friends not to take an oath, nor "affirm allegiance," to either side of the warring factions.

Neutrality was the accepted ideal among Friends, but in actual experience they were accused of being traitors because they would not participate in supporting the war. The colonial government first doubled, then tripled, then quadrupled the tax upon Quakers as a result of their non-participation.<sup>15</sup> Obviously some vindictiveness was involved, but the reasoning was that justice demanded that Quakers who were "sharing in the benefits" of the war should bear a proportionate part of the cost.

In 1780 the legislature ordered a requisition of supplies for the army. Quakers, Mennonites, Brethren and Moravians were assessed according to the existing law, a three-fold amount. At this time Western Quarterly Meeting issued an Advice to local meetings to maintain their "peaceable Testimony by an Honest refusal to Act or Willingly (comply) with any Requisitions or Demands made by men in Supporting or Carrying on wars, or the shedding of blood."<sup>16</sup> Property seizures and distrains followed, of course, in severe measures. Wayne County Friends petitioned the Legislature for relief from the grievances which they suffered — to no avail.<sup>17</sup> In this situation the only course of action open to the Quakers was to accept the consequences of their refusal to compromise their religious convictions, much the same as first-generation Friends had quietly accepted persecution in England more than a century earlier.

Under the stress of circumstances, some individuals did yield to the pressure to participate in the armed conflict. Such persons were first "labored with," then disowned if they did not "condemn their actions and make satisfaction." When the choice for Friends was condoning, or disowning, they took the more difficult and painful route. The testimony against participation in bloodshed was maintained at a great cost, which was not only great financial sacrifice, but also the loss of members who had violated the teachings of the New Testament as interpreted by Friends.<sup>18</sup>

During the prolonged war, the final outcome was at times quite uncertain. After the Battle of Guilford Court House, for example, General Cornwallis spread the word that he had defeated General

Greene, that he had driven his forces out of the South, and that the colony was again firmly under British control. Some Quakers were thus led to believe that the revolution had failed, and that their citizenship, after all, continued to be with Britain.

All the while foraging parties on both sides of the conflict laid waste the countryside. Desolation prevailed. Fear and insecurity were everywhere. Armies had to depend on the land for food and supplies. Beyond this, wanton destruction prevailed. For example, Tory raiders burned all of Dr. David Caldwell's precious books and papers.<sup>19</sup>

As indicated, the Revolutionary War was largely a civil war, Americans fighting Americans. The British sent troops under Lord Cornwallis, but he had to depend largely upon colonial support. In North Carolina, no British soldiers at all were involved in the sharp but decisive battle of Moore's Creek Bridge which occurred very early in the conflict. Very late in the conflict (September, 1781), the Battle of Lindley's Mill was also fought entirely by Americans.<sup>20</sup> During the intervening years the war in central North Carolina had increasingly taken on the nature of guerilla warfare: hit-and-run bands trying to annihilate one another.

After the Battle of Lindley's Mill the members of the Spring Meeting were left with the responsibility of caring for the wounded and burying the dead. When Elisha Kirk visited the Spring community in 1784, three years after the battle, he wrote: "We went home with our beloved Friend, Zachariah Dicks, and on the way he showed the place where he and other friends buried thirty-four persons in one grave during the late disturbances."<sup>21</sup>

In similar fashion, after the Battle of Guilford Court House the two generals, Greene and Cornwallis, hurriedly left the area without lingering to bury their dead or to take care of the wounded. The number of soldiers buried in the New Garden cemetery is not known, but probably "a total between 125 and 150."<sup>22</sup> The Quakers accomplished the grave-digging rather quickly, but caring for the wounded was a prolonged responsibility.

In burying the dead, both at Spring and at New Garden, Friends made no distinction between Patriots and Tories. Those who had fought each other in life were laid side by side in the sleep of death. Likewise, care for the wounded was extended with no discrimination.

Friends rendered all the assistance which their impoverished circumstances permitted. No proof in the form of actual records can be offered, but it seems reasonable to presume that wagon loads of food and clothes were furnished by other Quaker communities which were a little less impoverished at this particular time.



The action of the two generals in deserting their dead and wounded was called "military necessity," but it did not relieve the situation. Some days later, General Greene addressed a communication to New Garden Friends:

Friends and Countrymen: I address myself to your humanity for the relief of the suffering wounded at Guilford Court House. As a people I am persuaded you disclaim any connection with measures calculated to promote military operations; but I know of no order of men more remarkable for the exercise of humanity and benevolence; and perhaps no instance ever had a higher claim upon you than the unfortunate wounded in your neighborhood . . . I shall be exceedingly obliged to you to contribute all in your power to relieve the unfortunates at Guilford.<sup>23</sup>

General Greene had been brought up in the Quaker tradition, and perhaps this caused him to feel free to scold the Quakers for non-participation in the war, which he proceeded to do in the latter part of this communication. The response of New Garden Friends is a masterpiece of Quaker expression:

Friend Greene: We received thine, being dated March 26, 1781. Agreeable to thy request we shall do all that lies in our power, although this may inform you that from our present situation we are ill able to assist as much as we would be glad to do, as the Americans have lain much upon us, and of late the British have plundered and entirely broken up many among us, which renders it hard, and there is at our meeting-house at New Garden upward of one hundred now living, that have no means of provision, except what hospitality the neighborhood affords them, which we look upon as a hardship upon us, if not an imposition; but not withstanding all this, we are determined, by the assistance of Providence, while we have anything among us, that the distresses both at the court house and here shall have part with us . . .<sup>24</sup>

Through the years many well-meaning persons have tried to show that the Quakers strongly supported the Revolutionary cause. Others less kindly disposed have emphasized Quaker inconsistencies in maintaining their peace testimony. Perhaps the following legend will illustrate both of these tendencies. Prior to the Battle of Guilford Court House, so the story goes, foraging Tories converged on the farm of a prosperous Quaker who lived in the Buffalo Creek area. They seized all his horses and cattle — except one sick calf. Since he had a family to support, he pleaded with them to leave one horse — to no avail. He was so enraged that on the day of the battle he took down his rifle and told his wife he was going hunting. (She prepared him a lunch.)

Going directly to General Greene, this Quaker in his Quaker hat offered himself for service. In the evening when he returned, empty handed, his wife asked, "Didn't thee kill any game?" His reply: "Nothing worth bringing home."<sup>25</sup>

Somewhat less legendary is the story of the sixteen-year-old son of a Hunt family. This lad hid himself near the Cross Roads, and with his clear eye and accurate rifle, dropped a British officer from his horse. Since the boy's given name is not known, precise information is not possible. This event may not have been known at the time, for no member of the Hunt family was disowned for "appearing in a war-like manner."

Dorothy Thorne states that it was a mystery just what Quakers were doing during the Battle of Guilford Court House. She quotes Caruthers as saying that one man whose home was between the lines of the contending forces "retired to his potato hole under the floor where he could meditate upon the evils of war while the cannons roared."

Quite a number of Guilford County Quakers were excellent gunsmiths. "Guilford Rifles" were well known for their quality, and it has been said that some of them were used in the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, and elsewhere.

One legend has it that soon after the beginning of the Revolutionary War Matthew Osborn (Ozbun) of the Centre Meeting was asked to make guns for the Continental Army. Not only did he refuse to do so; he went around to his neighbors and bought back the rifles he had made, took them to his shop and bent the barrels so that they could not be used to kill human beings.<sup>26</sup>

A slightly different account is given by another source:

Matthew Osborn II . . . was an expert gunsmith. . . . In 1781 some man got one of his deer rifles and used it in the Battle of Guilford Court House. After the battle he returned it and Matthew broke it across a stump with the remark that he would not have a gun that had been used to slay his fellowman.<sup>27</sup>

In his hurried departure from the Battle of Guilford Court House, General Cornwallis marched southward to Bell's Mill, a short distance above the present town of Randleman on Deep River. From thence he went to Dixon's Mill on Cane Creek, near the Cane Creek Meeting House. (A snow storm occurred while he was there; hence the community name, "Snow Camp.") Since he was living off the land, foragers were said to have collected 75 cattle and 250 sheep from the community. According to tradition, these were butchered on the Cane

Creek Meeting House grounds, and the meat cut up on the benches — which were said to have borne these marks and stains as long as they were used.<sup>28</sup>

A number of British soldiers died at this encampment, some from wounds suffered a few days before, some from illness. These men were buried in the Cane Creek cemetery.<sup>29</sup> In passing it could be noted that in the Revolutionary War, as in the Civil War, as many men died of illness during the prolonged conflicts as on the battlefields.

Historians who turn to the minutes of the meetings most involved in the events of these days will find little there of descriptive interest. Before the Battle of Guilford Court House, Cornwallis wrote that he camped “at the Quakers Meeting between the forks of Deep River,” but the minutes of Deep River make no mention of this fact.

The monthly meeting convened at New Garden as usual on March 31, 1781, two weeks after the Battle of Guilford Court House, but the minutes contain no reference to the calamities of war. Friends “prepared two minutes of removal, disowned a member for marrying out of meeting . . . appointed two committees and a treasurer, and adjourned.”<sup>30</sup>

Maintaining their peace testimony throughout the Revolutionary War proved to be very costly to Friends. Some losses through disownment had been part of the price, for some members yielded to the pressures of the times, and either took up arms or participated in other ways. There were some border-line cases where it was not clear whether the individual had participated sufficiently in military activity to justify disownment. For example, a member of the Core Sound Meeting “for a Small Season Sheltered himself under our holy profession, but could not Stand in it and beare his Testimony of the Truth when Suffering appeared near at hand.” While he did not actually take up arms, he was willing to supply troops with provisions for “the love of money.”<sup>31</sup> All efforts to help him see the error of his ways failed, and he was disowned.

Another situation in which it was difficult to draw a thin line had to do with loyalty oaths. Of course Friends would not swear, but for the benefit of Friends, Moravians, Mennonites and Dunkards an “affirmation of loyalty” was drawn up. The word “allegiance” was changed to “fidelity.” Since this was declaring their loyalty to a state which was at war, Friends could not feel free to take the affirmation. Life was difficult for people with a sensitive conscience.



As the war was coming to a close, little did the residents of the central part of the state, Randolph County especially, realize that some of the worst violence was yet to come. The notorious David Fanning carried on a campaign of terror in the general Deep River area during 1781 and the first half of 1782. Even after Cornwallis had surrendered at Yorktown, Fanning continued to sign himself as "Commander of the Royal Militia in Randolph and Chatham Counties." In his written account of these activities he justified his terrorist atrocities as "military necessity."<sup>32</sup>

The historian Eli W. Caruthers wrote:

. . . a state of distress existed in Randolph County . . . which can hardly be conceived. Many of the most respectable men in the county . . . and a number of peaceable, inoffensive men . . . were murdered in the most shocking manner. Homes and barns were burned, with everything they contained . . . many families . . . were left to beggary or absolute starvation.<sup>33</sup>

Lindley Butler, who has made a thorough study of David Fanning's career has stated: "Fanning 'scourged' the Whigs in Randolph County in a last savage raid in March [1782]. Colonel Andrew Balfour of the County Militia and other Whig officers were assassinated, and homes were burned and looted."<sup>34</sup>

In his written accounts Fanning says little about the Quakers explicitly, although he seems to have thought of them as "traitorous rebels" because they did not assist in the Tory campaigns. In one of his raids across Randolph County, he reported almost casually, "On my way home I burnt Capt. Cox's house and his Father's," presumably the homes of William and Harmon Cox near Deep River.

The massacre of the Comer family, reported so vividly by Braxton Craven in the fifth issue of *The Evergreen* (a magazine published briefly in Asheboro 1850-1851) seems to have been the work of Fanning and his men, although it is not so stated specifically, and the date given is a little earlier, 1778. These unfortunate victims were buried in the Old Stone Graveyard near Cox's Mill on Mill Creek, Holly Spring community.

The end of the war did not mean the cessation of all injustices to Friends. On account of the death of Lord Granville in 1763, his land office was closed, and many piedmont Quaker settlers had not been able to get firm deeds for their farms. During the war, all the Granville holdings were confiscated by the state. In 1778 a law was passed stating that the first person filing for a certain tract of land became the legal owner. This situation gave unscrupulous men, conniving with un-

scrupulous officials, the opportunity to take the farms of any who did not hold properly registered land grants. Just how many Quakers fell victim to this ruse is not known, but Quakers were generally considered to be fair game. The number of Quakers having their lands thus taken may have been considerable. Most history textbooks are silent on the subject, but land frauds seem to have reached enormous proportions in the latter part of the eighteenth century, beginning with some highly renowned officials.

When at long last the war was over and some measure of law and order restored, Friends endeavored to be good citizens under the new government. They were not revolutionaries — before or after the war.

Early Friends in North Carolina were quite active in public affairs, holding various official positions in the colonial government. With the beginning of the eighteenth century, conditions changed. Friends were first excluded from office-holding through the ruse of requiring an oath of office, which they would not take. Many decades later when war with the Mother Country occurred, they could not feel clear to participate in a “revolutionary” government based on the sword. To do so would have been a denial of their religious opposition to war. Furthermore, Friends were painfully aware of the attitude of a Committee of the General Assembly which said that “the conduct of the said Quakers in setting their slaves free . . . was highly criminal and reprehensible . . .”<sup>35</sup>

As to elective positions, few Friends could have secured a majority vote at that time even if they had entered the political arena. Their non-participation in the war did not make for popularity. Afterward, when the war was over, hostilities toward Friends tended to subside. Friends proved themselves to be good citizens under the new form of government, and public opinion turned rather rapidly toward appreciation for their dependable integrity. A new militia law was passed in December, 1785, which exempted Quakers from military muster. This law remained substantially unchanged until 1830. By this time the anti-slavery stance of Friends had brought them into great disfavor with many state officials. The old law granting exemption from military muster to Friends was repealed, and in its stead a new ruling adopted which required that Friends should be heavily fined for non-participation. Public opinion caused the new law to be repealed two years later, in 1832. Freedom from military conscription lasted until the beginning of the Civil War.<sup>36</sup>

Even though there were periods of time when Friends were not oppressed by public disfavor, their opposition relative to office holding continued. For a century or more it was a disciplinary offense. As

late as 1854 one finds this statement:

It is the Sense of the Yearly Meeting, that if any of our members accept, or act in, the office of member of the federal or State legislature . . . that they be dealt with, and if they cannot be convinced of the inconsistency of their conduct, after sufficient labor, they be disowned.<sup>37</sup>

This attitude was continued, understandably, throughout the troubled years preceding and during the Civil War when Friends were deeply distressed by the state's actions relative to slavery, secession and war. All the while, however, Friends must have been troubled deeply by some elements of inconsistency in their position. They recognized the necessity of civil government, but could not feel clear to participate in it.

The effects of the Revolutionary War upon North Carolina Friends were very great. Many Friends were left in an impoverished condition by fines and distrains, by the economic chaos of the war years, and by the ravages of foraging armies and guerilla bands. For a people who desired to be peaceable, law-abiding citizens, it had been a bitter experience. Being called "cowardly traitors" was extremely painful.

When the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown was announced, Friends did not celebrate the victory of one party over another. Rather, they sought to continue their lives in accordance with their religious principles: good citizens under the prevailing form of government. Not having participated in the bloodshed, they were in heart and conscience free. To them this was more important than a change in the form of government.

One effect of the suffering which Friends had undergone was that they were drawn more closely together as a persecuted minority. This was good within certain bounds. In the century following, however, there came to be too much introversion. Rufus Jones has pointed out that Friends became "more conservative of ancient tradition, more separate from the world, more introvertive in spirit . . ."<sup>38</sup> The dynamic, aggressive spirit of first century Quakerism was subdued by the prevailing effects of quietism. One of the major objectives of Friends became that of maintaining and preserving the Society.

Friends in North Carolina recovered sufficiently in a short time to exhibit strong signs of life and growth. In the year 1792 four meetings were established: Back Creek as a monthly meeting; Holly Spring and



Rocky River as preparative meetings; and Providence as a meeting for worship. The following year, 1793, Uwharrie was established as a meeting for worship; Spring was set up as a monthly meeting.

Although specific statistics are not available, it has been estimated that there were about fifteen thousand Quakers in North Carolina at the close of the Revolution. Continued growth makes the year 1800 to be somewhere near the peak of Quaker membership in the South. Westward migrations had begun, but had not yet reached great proportions. This was to occur in the decades following.

In the years following the war, George Washington met the Quaker Warner Mifflin, whom he knew, and asked him upon what principle he had been opposed to the Revolution. Mifflin's reply was clear and to the point:

Yes, Friend Washington — upon the same principle that I should be opposed to a change in this government. All that was ever gained by revolutions is not adequate compensation to poor mangled soldiers, for the loss of life and limb . . .

After some pause and reflection, Washington is said to have replied, "Mr. Mifflin, I honor your sentiments. There is more in *that*, than mankind has generally considered."<sup>39</sup>

A further statement by Washington as related by J. P. Brissot de Warville, London, 1797, is quite revealing:

General Washington . . . declared to me that in the course of the war he had entertained an ill opinion of the Quakers, but since having known them better, he acquired an esteem for them; that considering . . . the purity of their morals, their exemplary economy, and their attachment to the Constitution, he considered them as one of the best supports of the new government . . .<sup>40</sup>

## *Visiting Ministers Came*

An amazing feature of the early Quaker movement was traveling ministers, beginning with George Fox himself, and including the Valiant Sixty who traveled far, not only in northern England, but also in Scotland and Ireland. They spread the Truth across Europe, as far as Turkey. As early as 1656 Friends reached America. George Fox, realizing that the Divine imperative which moved him to travel "in the service of Truth" would be experienced by others also, encouraged them to spread the Truth in "all countries, islands and nations."

Traveling ministers in the early Quaker movement experienced a powerful motivation in addition to, or at least in relation to, the Divine command. Inherent in human beings is a great urge to *share* a new discovery. First-generation Quakers had made a great spiritual discovery; consequently they experienced an almost irresistible desire to proclaim to others what they themselves had found in the way of a personal encounter with the Living Christ. A discovery of this kind generates tremendous spiritual power, such as was evident in the early decades of the Quaker movement.

The ministry of these amazing evangelists was similar to the mission of the Apostle Paul in the first century of the Christian era, as expressed in the introductory statement of his letter to the Galatians: "An apostle, not from men nor through men but through Jesus Christ . . ." <sup>1</sup> Early Quaker evangelists did not wait for the results of a feasibility study, nor for favorable salary arrangements. They had made a great spiritual discovery. The Lord was saying Go! And they went. Truth could not wait.

George Fox and William Edmundson traveled toward America together in 1671, but on account of illness Fox remained in the Barbados for a time, and thus the two were separated in their colonial travels. Edmundson came to Carolina in the spring of 1672, followed by Fox in the fall of the same year, as recounted in a previous section.

When Edmundson came out into the clearings at the spot now called Hertford in Perquimans County, what a spectacle he must have

been! He said, "We were sorely soyled in Swamps and Rivers. . . ." Perhaps at that moment no one quoted Isaiah's words: "How beautiful . . . are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings . . ." Beautiful or not, the arrival of William Edmundson in May and George Fox in October, 1672, marks the beginning of Quakerism in the Carolinas. The seeds of the Quaker faith took root and prospered.

North Carolina Yearly Meeting exists today because of the labor of traveling ministers — these two, and scores of others who were to follow. Among the earliest visitors coming to Virginia and Carolina were:<sup>2</sup>

Thomas Story, 1698, and again in 1705

Thomas Chalkley, 1703

Samuel Bownas, 1706

John Fothergill, 1707

John Richardson, 1701-2; 1731

Edmund Peckover, 1742

Thomas Chalkley was born in England, but "removed to America," where he was a member of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting for forty years. His *Journal* describes his visit to North Carolina:

About the 26th of the first month 1703 I visited Friends in Virginia and North Carolina, to the river Pamlico, where no traveling, publick Friends, that ever I heard of were before, and had several meetings there on each side of the river. On going out of our canoe through a marsh, I trod on a rattlesnake . . . it only hissed at me, and did no harm. This was one deliverance, among many, which the Lord . . . wrought for me . . .<sup>3</sup>

Itinerant Friends ministers did not organize a church in the conventional sense of the word. Sometimes a Quaker family in a new community would be visited, where a meeting would be "appointed." Neighbors would be invited to come, and if there were "convincements," as generally happened, a small nucleus would be formed around which a meeting could develop. Some of these units became strong meetings; others died away, and nothing was ever known of them.

Some writers have likened this itinerant ministry to the flow of life blood. Others have called it the cross-fertilization which kept Quakerism vigorous and growing. Still others have called it the cement which held the Atlantic Quaker community together. Henry J. Cadbury put it this way:

The intervisitation between different areas of Quakerism is one of its most important and attractive features. What the Society of Friends



lacked in officialdom and bureaucracy was compensated for in this process of visitation.<sup>4</sup>

One practical result was the lessening of a narrow provincialism which could have arisen among North Carolina Friends on account of their geographical isolation. When the Revolutionary War broke out, British Quakers were not considered enemies, but brethren in the faith. In like manner, the Civil War did not cause any separation between northern and southern Friends. A spiritual fellowship stronger than political conflicts held them together.

Fortunately most traveling ministers kept journals which illuminated not only conditions existing in the meetings visited, but also their own personal spiritual experiences — expressed in quaint, vivid terms. When their hearers seemed receptive, such were said to be “tendered,” or “under conviction.” Members of a local meeting were said to be “under profession of truth.” Non-members were “those who do not profess with us,” or those who “yet stand off,” or occasionally those “somewhat in the world.”

Equally interesting is the way in which monthly meeting clerks usually recorded the coming of visiting Friends: “Our beloved Friend, A.B., with whom we have unity, appeared in the ministry, much to our edification.” Sometimes a further statement was added: “His exemplary deportment was very acceptable to us.” One clerk described the visitor as “a precious choice Friend who has a gift in the ministry.”

As a matter of procedure, individuals feeling a concern to travel in the ministry laid the matter before the local monthly meeting, where “weighty consideration” was given to the proposed travels. If there was unity in approval, a “traveling minute” was prepared and duly signed. This brief official statement served both as an introduction and as a recommendation which was presented to the meetings visited. When the projected “Gospel labors” were completed, the traveling minute was duly returned to the meeting granting it.

During the years when the piedmont section of Carolina was being settled by the Quakers, the number of visiting Friends increased. William Hunt listed ninety-seven visitors to New Garden between 1752 and 1779. Algie I. Newlin, who has made an extensive study of Friends in the Cane Creek Valley, makes this statement:

A survey reveals that between the setting up of Cane Creek Meeting and the Great Separation (Philadelphia) of 1828, a period of seventy-seven years, no less than 127 Friends traveling in the ministry visited meetings in Western Quarterly Meeting . . . The number given includes the traveling companions who were appointed to accompany the minis-

ters . . . Of the 127, seventy-nine were men and forty-eight were women . . . Fifteen of these visitors were from England, one from Ireland, eight from New England, six from New York, three from New Jersey, twenty-four from Pennsylvania, three from Maryland, eight from Virginia, twenty-one from other Meetings in North Carolina, and seventeen from Ohio.<sup>5</sup>

This visitation was not a one-way exercise. North Carolina Yearly Meeting soon began to send visiting Friends to other parts of the country, and even across the Atlantic. It seems that the first in this great succession of traveling Friends was Gabriel Newby. His wife Mary was the daughter of Francis Toms the elder. He visited Pennsylvania and New Jersey in 1701, and in 1715. Much later, Thomas Nicholson of Perquimans County traveled to England in religious service in 1749–1750.<sup>6</sup> Some twenty years later when William Hunt was preparing to make the same journey, he spent time with Thomas Nicholson “to much satisfaction and instruction.”<sup>7</sup>

William Hunt’s visit to England gives much insight into travel conditions in 1770. At that time, passengers provided their own food for the long sea voyage. Supplies for “William and Companion” included “3 sheep, 3 hogs, one barrel of cyder. 103 lbs salt petre gammons [pork] . . .”<sup>8</sup> A further note of interest is that while the North Carolina Quaker William Hunt was well received, and most occasions were quite satisfactory, some of them went dull and flat, and he did not hesitate to say so in his *Journal*: “Next day . . . we had two heavy dull meetings.” At Edinborough, he wrote, “We had but a low heavy meeting.”<sup>9</sup>

In a brief unpublished account, Nereus Mendenhall lists other early Friends who traveled abroad:

Many valuable ministers were raised up . . . a few were called across the ocean to labor for the Lord in foreign lands. Among the latter may be named William Hunt, Nathan Hunt, Asenath Clark, Richard Jordan, John Bond, Jeremiah Hubbard, and Charity Cook.<sup>10</sup>

In her book, *The Early Settlement of Nantucket*, Lydia S. Hinchman lists the following Southern ministers who received traveling minutes to Nantucket between 1784 and 1831: Henry Stanton, William Hunt, Zachariah Dicks, Thomas Thornbrough, John Carter, William Coffin, Ann Jessup (Jesop), Lydia Hoskins, Stephen Gardner, Chalkley Albertson, Zachariah Nixon, Nathan Hunt, Matthew Coffin, Jeremiah Hubbard, and Elijah Coffin.<sup>11</sup>

Visiting Friends almost always had a traveling companion. Sometimes, but not often, a minister’s wife or husband might be this

companion. For example, Daniel Barker once undertook an extended program of visiting meetings all across the country. About midway in this series of visitations, his wife Lydia reported to monthly meeting: "I do believe that I stand resigned to accompany my husband through the remaining part of his visits."<sup>12</sup>

Something of the same reluctance is reflected in the statement of Thomas Thornburg in relation to accompanying William Hunt to England. Hunt's *Journal* says that he "gave up to accompany me therein."<sup>13</sup> During the second century of the Quaker movement, the fresh enthusiasm of the early years had given way to the less exciting task of maintaining the Society. Less spiritual power is released in preserving something than in creating something. This may explain in part the greater reluctance of Friends to accept the hardships of travel.

When the early Publishers of Truth left the comforts of home, there was no guarantee of a safe return. Both William Hunt and his cousin, John Woolman, died of smallpox in England — near the same time. On the part of those who were left at home, farewells were followed by months of anxiety. When Stanley Pumphrey (England) presented his concern to enter into a prolonged visit to America "he sat down and burst into tears."<sup>14</sup>

Job Scott expressed his feelings upon preparing for a long period of travel in 1786 in this way:

I endeavored to be given up to it, but the thought of parting . . . with my dear wife, and tender little children, wrought so upon me . . . I was visited with severe sickness for a month . . .<sup>15</sup>

From the perspective of two centuries the question naturally arises as to *why* such responsibilities were laid upon these humble under-shepherds. Perhaps the most reasonable answer is that the Great Shepherd said, "Go feed my lambs; go feed my sheep!" At any rate, these obedient servants fed and nurtured the many scattered groups of Friends in the Carolina "back country." *Life* always depends upon care, nurture, nourishment.

The journals of traveling Friends furnish vivid accounts of the travel difficulties encountered. For example, the English Friend, Catharine Payton (Phillips), left home "4th of Sixth month, 1753" and arrived in Charleston "Tenth month 26th" — nine weeks on ship-board! In November she and some traveling companions undertook a journey toward the piedmont Quaker settlements of New Garden, Cane Creek, and other places. A few excerpts from this story are revealing:

Left Charleston 26th of Eleventh month, toward the waters of the Haw



River . . . Left Pee Dee 20th of Twelfth month . . . We rode that day about forty miles through the woods without seeing any house, and at night took up our lodging in the woods, by the side of a branch or swamp . . . Our friends made us a little shed of the branches of pine trees . . . a calm, fair moon-light night, we spent it cheerfully, though we slept but little.<sup>16</sup>

The next day they “traveled about forty-five miles,” and at night found the ground wet and the weather very cold. “We spent the night very uncomfortable . . . but resigned in spirit.”

In the course of time they set out one morning hoping to reach a settlement of Friends at New Garden that day. It was farther than they knew, and “we thought best to stop at Polecat [Creek] . . .” She states that they finally reached New Garden, “and we were the first from Europe that had visited them . . .”

Incidentally, she was not entirely pleased with all that she saw there:

We found a sincere-hearted remnant in this meeting, unto whom the Lord united us; but there was also a dead, formal, professing spirit under which the living were sorely oppressed; as well as under a flashy wordy ministry.<sup>17</sup>

Her travel diary continues:

The 29th we got to Cane Creek, another new settlement of Friends . . . The 31st we went about thirty miles to a very small Meeting on the River Eno . . . The 4th of the First month, 1754 . . . we had a meeting at Rocky River . . . The 7th we set out for Carver's Creek, a journey of about 160 miles, through an almost uninhabited country . . .<sup>18</sup>

This part of her travels was made fearsome by the presence of wolves, panthers, and other wild animals of the forest. After reaching Dunn's Creek and Carver's Creek, they headed toward the Perquimans River, on which “the main body of Friends . . . was settled . . . Our first meeting among them was at the Piney Woods meeting house.” In all, she logged 8,750 miles on horseback, 1753–1756. (Did she actually travel that far, or did it just seem that far?)

Much later, Stephen Grellet found that the hardships of travel still persisted. He wrote:

On our way to Contentnea, we had, amidst imminent dangers, a remarkable preservation. About eight o'clock, on a very dark night, we came near to a creek. Our guide . . . rode to a cabin, not far distant, to inquire if the creek was fordable . . . Putting a white handkerchief round his hat that we might the better distinguish him, our guide rode

before us . . . as the descent into the creek was steep and difficult. As soon as we were in, we found the water so deep, that our horses began to swim, and the current was so strong, as to turn the body of our carriage down the stream . . .<sup>19</sup>

Then follows the account of their escape from the dark water. One gets the impression that Divine Providence must have assisted them in a marvelous fashion. Many more difficulties with high waters continued: "Several times we had to cross the waters in canoes, having two lashed together, two side wheels of our carriage [wagon] in one, and the opposite ones in the other, the horses swimming beside them."

In Addison Coffin's brief account of the Bush River Meeting this descriptive section is to be found:

In the Women's Meeting, on the preachers' bench, under their immense white beavers, I recall the full round faces and forms of Sisters Charity Cook and Susannah Hollingsworth . . . Charity Cook was indeed a gifted woman . . . She traveled extensively . . . When her husband drove his stage wagon in Ruben's Creek at a time when it was high, drowned two horses and only escaped drowning himself by riding a chunk [log] to land, *she* swam to shore and thus saved herself.<sup>20</sup>

Obviously Coffin thought this to be a remarkable feat, knowing what an impediment long dresses and multiple petticoats would be to a woman trying to swim.

The religious service of traveling ministers was not confined to the hour of worship at the meeting house. Usually they spent several days visiting the various families in the community. In each home there was a time of quiet worship, followed by words of loving counsel and encouragement. Special attention was given to each person, even the smallest child. At least some of these visiting Friends loved little children to the extent that each one was held on his (or her) lap for a few minutes of special loving attention and small talk. For example, when one minister came back to the yearly meeting many years later, the tiny children which he remembered had all grown up. He said, "I have held half of the Yearly Meeting on my lap!"

Local people who were visited rarely kept journals, but it is reasonable to presume that the coming of a visiting Friend was a joyous occasion. The journals of the traveling Friends sometimes contain illuminating insights. For example, William Reckett wrote that the people at Gum Swamp and Pee Dee were "truly glad to see us, they being so seldom visited." Thomas Scattergood said that in 1792 he visited Holly Spring Meeting. "After it a grayheaded

old man came to me and said, 'Thou has scattered much good today; May we keep it.'"<sup>21</sup>

When a visiting Friend was known to be coming for an "appointed meeting," local messengers rode from house to house throughout the community spreading the word. Meeting houses were usually filled to overflowing for appointed meetings. One example of this may be gleaned from the *Memoirs* of Stephen Grellet when he visited the Rocky River Meeting in 1800:

After attending the Quarterly Meeting of Deep River . . . we came to Rocky River, to David Wertell's, an aged and faithful Friend. It was late and cold when we arrived at his house. Informing him of our wish to have a meeting the following day, he said he would take all necessary care about it; but, as he did not leave us till we retired to bed, I concluded we should have a very small meeting. I saw no more of the dear friend till next day . . . Wondering at the crowd of people we met I asked him why we had not seen him the whole morning? He said he had been riding all night and morning, giving notice of the meeting...<sup>22</sup>

One can appreciate the fact that these heroes of the faith were careful not to "run ahead of their Guide" just because people expected them to speak. Unfortunately, their arduous schedules had left little or no time for prayer and meditation. The observation has been made that a cup which has not time to fill up is not likely to run over. The journals of these traveling Friends indicate that numerous times they sat through meetings with no word to say.

Most of these traveling ministers were strong and vigorous. Even so, traveling among the scattered meetings and visiting in the many homes of each community was physically exhausting. The human element of sheer fatigue naturally entered the situation. It seems that at times physically exhausted travelers were not ready to be instruments of Divine joy and inspiration. Only the inexperienced would say that one's physical condition is not related to service of this kind.

Over and over Job Scott used the plaintive expression, "I was shut up in silence." Apparently he wanted to deliver a message, and was deeply troubled when he was not able to do so. He sometimes explained his silence by informing the people that he "did not leave home . . . to communicate anything in my own will." At one point in his travels he wrote of two consecutive meetings: "In the first I got but little relief, and in the last could not open my mouth in the ministry." On the following First-day he recorded that he sat "in suffering silence."<sup>23</sup> At one time (1787) Thomas Scattergood sat through seven successive meetings "closed up as to any public communication."



Just how did this silence seem to hungry, needy people who had traveled long distances to hear a Gospel message? Some were disappointed, naturally. They found it difficult to understand why the Lord had sent a messenger — without a message. Perhaps others were more perceptive, and realized that true worship and personal seeking are not entirely dependent upon words.

Beyond the exhaustion which sometimes affected these ministers, the belief prevailed among Friends for more than a century that *preparation* could only hinder the ministry, that the “pure Gospel” had to come from immediate (spur-of-the-moment) inspiration.<sup>24</sup> The human mind was thought to be so depraved in nature that it had to be kept entirely out of the way, so that it would not defile the pure leadings of the Spirit. Advance preparation and forethought, therefore, were to be strictly avoided. Constant prayer, meditation and Scripture reading was expected, however. This emphasis upon immediate revelation was extremely important, although when carried to undue extremes it tended to overlook the underlying principle that religious service of any kind, ministry especially, is cooperative in nature: God does his part, and depends upon the human individual to do his. St. Paul’s exhortation to the young minister Timothy, “study to show thyself approved unto God,” indicates that some form of human effort is a necessary part of the cooperative process (II Timothy 2:15).

Of course there were times when these early traveling ministers felt freedom and joy in proclaiming the Gospel. When Job Scott had completed his visitation in Eastern Carolina in 1789, he made his way toward the Piedmont:

On the four following days . . . we had blessed meetings at Rocky River, Nathan Dixon’s, Pine Grove [Pine Ridge?] and Holly Spring. Truth triumphed in these meetings — its doctrines flowed like oil.<sup>25</sup>

What a joyous relief it must have been to find freedom!

One especial virtue of most itinerant visitors was a sincere desire to refrain from the mere multiplying of words when these were empty. Thomas Scattergood described one experience in this fashion:

Whilst speaking I met with a sudden stop in my mind as to the expression of mere words, and found it safest to sit down, and experienced great peace in doing so.<sup>26</sup>

Many long years later (according to oral tradition in the writer’s community) the legenday Rufus King suddenly stopped speaking and said aloud to himself, “Rufus, thee has said enough; sit down!” Obediently, he did so.

By way of contrast, when the British Friend Stanley Pumphrey was in North Carolina, he wrote:

In eleven days Allen Jay and I have had twenty-nine meetings, and several times I suppose I spoke fully three hours in the day. You may think it too much; but the people are hungry, and the Lord calls, and certainly strength has been given beyond what I have asked or thought of, for this Carolina work.<sup>27</sup>

Occasionally amazing things happened. Some of these traveling ministers were able to "speak to conditions" beyond their own knowledge. The prophetic messenger, without having been informed of specific problems existing within the membership, would speak so directly to the situation, or to some erring individual, that the people would listen in astonishment. When the speaker did know of a problem, he generally addressed himself to it with great candor. This he called "giving close testimony among them."

Most traveling ministers expressed great appreciation for Carolina Quakers. There were exceptions, however. Some visitors to the "back country" seem to have had the idea that their major mission was to inform the people of their errors and shortcomings, and to "set things in order."<sup>28</sup> Some were quite critical. For example, when John Griffith visited among Carolina Friends in 1765, he did not find Centre Meeting at all to his liking:

It was extremely cold, and, as some observed, the like had not been known there in the memory of man; and being quite an open meeting-house and very little of anything to be felt amongst them of religious warmth, it was really a distressing time inwardly and outwardly.<sup>29</sup>

Of New Garden he wrote:

We went to New Garden Meeting in North Carolina, which was very large . . . a thick, dark cloud overshadowed the fore part of that meeting and it was a painful, distressing time . . .<sup>30</sup>

After listening to the answers to the Queries at New Garden, 1787, Joshua Evans wrote that they gave such favorable answers to the Queries that he told them, "if they was as good as there represented there was not so many more as good on the continent as they was, but I had my fears that it was not so." He criticized the elders for "not filling their station in watching over those young in the ministry . . ." In general, he thought "the people's state . . . resembled the state of the country, — barren."

Both British and Philadelphia Friends visiting the new settlements in North Carolina had some difficulty accepting procedures which

were less polished than those to which they were accustomed. One Philadelphia Friend, as late as 1828, wrote to his wife:

They do not conduct their business according to our Style by any means; there is often some confusion & want of dignity & decorum; they talk too much, & are deficient in method, yet they get along in much good will & regard for one another's sentiments. . . .<sup>31</sup>

Stanley Pumphrey, who was generally at ease with American customs wrote upon his arrival:

I cannot understand the nasal twang of everybody. Even the steam engines have it, & instead of the shrill whistle of our English ones, make a noise like a man blowing through his nose. They carry a great bell & as they move along through the streets without any protection, the bell tolls dismally to warn passers by to get out of the way.<sup>32</sup>

Most visiting Friends in the early years were able to transcend the fatigue and the hardships of travel, and to see the people in terms of love and appreciation. More representative are statements such as these: "A plain and honest people they seem to be. We had very good satisfaction among them." Or again, "I could say that I did dearly love them."

The itinerant ministry considered in this section occurred for the most part during the time when there was great emphasis placed upon a *free* ministry. Inevitably, the question arises, Free for whom? The service of these traveling Friends was extremely *costly* — in terms of time, energy and actual monetary expense. The dedicated donors of this sacrificial life-sharing service may have offered it freely. But what about the recipients? Does the concept of a free Gospel ministry mean that it is always to be at the expense of another? For some two centuries, Friends were not always clear as to the responsibility of those who *received*.

A decline in the number of visiting Friends began with the Hicksite separation in Philadelphia in 1827, and further declined with the Wilburite controversy in New England in 1845. Prior to these traumatic events, there had been only one unified Society of Friends. In the years following, some Friends were not considered acceptable — even in North Carolina.



## “A Guarded Education”

Fortunately, George Fox realized that adequate education was crucial to the continued existence of the Quaker movement. His own limitations in this regard caused him to see even more clearly that the future development of the Society would depend in great measure upon adequate educational advantages for boys and girls. As early as 1656 he arranged for a boys' school to be set up at Waltham, and a girls' school at Shackleford, where the girls were to be instructed in “whatever things are civil and useful.”<sup>1</sup> Intuitively Fox perceived that in a religious movement where the responsibility for leadership was in the hands of the common people rather than a specially trained clergy, it was necessary for the general membership to be sufficiently well educated to assume this responsibility.

George Fox also realized that girls should be educated on an equal basis with boys, and so prepared for full and equal participation in society. Within a few years fifteen schools in addition to those mentioned above were in operation in England. Equal education for girls was truly a radical innovation for that day.

There were two major reasons why early Friends set up schools of their own. First, the centers of higher learning such as Oxford and Cambridge were closed to Friends, as were most of the elementary schools in seventeenth century England. A second reason was religious concern. It was important for Quaker children to be shielded from the “corrupt ways and fashions” of the world. Friends wanted their children to have a guarded education, with spiritual ideals at its center. They believed that young people could be preserved for the faith only through control of the environment, which in turn meant isolation and insulation from the vice of the sinful world. This basic concept continued to some degree for three centuries of Quaker history.

As a part of this process, early Friends undertook to write suitable textbooks for their children, since no acceptable ones existed. George Fox wrote several, the best known being his *Primer*, which was

somewhat in the nature of a spelling book and catechism combined.

At that time many professions and occupations were not open to members of the Society of Friends, hence young people needed practical preparation for becoming tradesmen or craftsmen. Early Friends were interested in the natural sciences, especially botany.<sup>2</sup> Mathematics was considered a "useful" discipline.

Presumably the quality of education in early Quaker schools in England, especially the moral and religious instruction, was very good, although the absence of music, art, and wholesome sports may have left the children somewhat culturally deprived. According to later standards, the prevailing Puritan influence may have been somewhat repressive.

In an interesting reference to his own children, the itinerant minister Job Scott expressed the desire that they should have better educational opportunities than he himself had had, continuing with this quaint statement:

Although I do not wish much of this world's polish, yet it is my desire that they may not be brought up with too much rusticity, for this I believe has not very often contributed either to civil or religious usefulness.<sup>3</sup>

After Friends began arriving in Carolina in 1665, what provisions were made for the education of children? Not very much is known specifically, but early Carolina Quakers were not an illiterate people. There is good reason to believe that they "had a care" for the proper education of their children, even amidst the difficult conditions of pioneer settlements. Before schools could be established it seems that most parents taught their children in their own homes.<sup>4</sup> In some instances, two or three families may have cooperated in this undertaking.

As the years passed some families may have secured the services of a tutor on a part-time, or occasional basis. When meeting houses were built, some of them (presumably) were used for school purposes during the week — when teachers could be found.

The first school house of record was at Symons Creek, built in 1705. A marker erected on the spot bears this inscription:

ON THIS SITE  
THE FIRST PUBLIC SCHOOL  
IN NORTH CAROLINA  
WAS ESTABLISHED

1705

Precisely who erected the building is not clear, but Quaker chil-

dren attended.<sup>5</sup> The teacher, Charles Griffin, apparently belonged to the Church of England, but Friends found him acceptable. It has been suggested that Griffin became a Quaker, but this is uncertain. After Griffin left the Symons Creek area he began a school in Chowan County. Aside from the Griffin schools, only one other is mentioned in early colonial Carolina history, that of "Mr. Mashburn who keeps a school on the frontiers of Virginia . . ."<sup>6</sup>

Of special significance is the fact that the first school house and the first house of worship in the state stood almost side by side. Only a few yards from the marker mentioned above stands a marker for the Symons Creek Meeting House — 1703. School houses were placed near meeting houses so that the children could attend meetings for worship on Fifth-day mornings.

The yearly meeting minutes of 1743 state that it was "the sense of this meeting to send to Boston to have George Fox's Primer reprinted . . . for young people as are just entering upon learning."<sup>7</sup> This short statement implies much that was happening. In following years, especially 1780 to 1799, the Yearly Meeting continued to exhort subordinate meetings relative to the "proper tuition of children, both white and black." The minutes of Piney Woods Meeting state that "the Yearly Meeting has continued to encourage the subordinate meetings to promote schools for their children, as well as for the children of the black race."<sup>8</sup>

During the colonial period the yearly meeting minutes contain no listing of monthly meeting schools, although there is reason to believe that a large number of them existed. Scattered references can be picked up, such as "some neglectfulness found in some Friends concerning the education of their children."<sup>9</sup> At one point it was stated that if there were poor Friends not able to "school their children" that the monthly meeting should "take some care that such have necessary caring."<sup>10</sup>

At a quarterly meeting at Little River the same concerns and admonitions were repeated, as it was felt important for Friends to "bring up their children to necessary learning." One of the Queries used for many decades included this wording: "Are there any children growing up among you without any education?"

Although no precise statements can be made, a reasonable assumption is that Quaker boys and girls were receiving much better education than others of most surrounding communities. Although the North Carolina Constitution after the Revolutionary War contained a statement authorizing public schools, many long decades passed before this became a reality. This situation has been summed up as



follows: "A majority of the children of the state prior to 1835, however, never sat in the presence of a teacher."<sup>11</sup>

One monthly meeting often had the supervision of four or five different schools, located in nearby preparative meeting communities. For example, at one time Holly Spring reported five schools under its care; Marlboro, six; Back Creek, four.

Most likely the earliest Quaker school houses were small log structures, with a fireplace at one end of the room. One may also presume that the boys sat on one side of the room, the girls on the other, as was customary in meetings for worship. At first, the seats were flattened logs with no backs. In later years when there were sawmills, lumber for benches with backs could be secured. (Desks were to come much later.) In some instances slanted shelves were placed along the wall where the students could stand and write on their crude slates. Such existed in the Evergreen Academy, a building preserved on the writer's farm. In Francis T. King's insistence upon adequate buildings, he deplored "school houses with dirt floors and no fireplaces."

Monthly meeting schools often operated on a subscription basis. Someone canvassed the community to see how many children were within walking distance, and how much teacher pay could be secured in the way of subscriptions.

As indicated, these schools were religiously oriented. To the normal three R's of elementary education was added a fourth — Religion. The Bible was read and studied as a proper part of the instruction. One teacher said: "It has been my aim while instructing children . . . not to lose sight of teaching solid principles of honesty and integrity, so essentially needed in life."

Monthly meeting schools were primarily for Quaker boys and girls, although other nearby children were generally admitted. In the course of time problems began to arise on this account. This will be considered later.

In addition to the difficulty of securing teachers, there was a scarcity of text books. North Carolina had no printing press until 1749. Even for some time thereafter, most Quaker books came from England, Philadelphia, or Boston. These books were mostly Bibles and Quaker journals and tracts — very few school books.<sup>12</sup>

London and Philadelphia Friends began sending shipments of books to Carolina in colonial days. As early as 1757 the minutes of the yearly meeting contain this statement:

There was presented to this Meeting a Box of Books & Epistles from



*Holly Spring School in the 1890s*

Friends in London to be distributed amongst Friends as the Meeting Shall Discretionally think proper . . .

In the yearly meeting Minutes of 1769, reference is made to the "Advice of last Yearly Meeting concerning Friends Books sent to us from England and elsewhere." It was directed that a "Suitable Friend [be appointed] in each monthly meeting as a Treasurer of Friends Books." Perhaps the term librarian had not come into general use in 1769, but the use of the word treasurer may be some indication of the value which Friends attached to good books.

In the course of time it became evident that local members should assume more responsibility in the care and development of local libraries. The yearly meeting issued this wise bit of counsel designed to increase the number of books available:

That all members in possession of suitable books put such of them as they think proper into the library belonging to and under the care of the monthly meeting, and such as have not be urged to subscribe liberally to raise a fund for that purpose.<sup>13</sup>

The fact that small local meetings should be providing libraries a

century and a half ago should not be passed over lightly. This library movement was in reality a further development of the emphasis upon the importance of Quaker literature.

As early as 1801 Friends in Eastern Quarter began laying the groundwork for establishment of a quarterly meeting school, probably on the high school level. There was a great deal of delay, but Belvidere Academy finally came into existence, as will be noted later.

During the early years of the nineteenth century there was renewed interest in education among North Carolina Friends. The devastation of the Revolutionary War had been replaced by some degree of stability and prosperity, enabling the membership in general to give more thought to the education of their boys and girls.

The renewed interest in Quaker literature during this period provides one evidence of greater concern for education. The minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings for 1829 contain this statement:

This meeting being brought under exercise on account of the great want . . . of books of information respecting the principles and doctrines of Friends propose a plan by which each of the Monthly Meetings can be supplied with a suitable library of books approved by the Society of Friends.<sup>14</sup>

The yearly meeting at large endorsed the proposed plan, stating clearly the purpose to be achieved:

We believe that with care it may be through Divine blessing the means by which the minds of our young Friends in particular may become imbued with more enlarged and correct views of the nature of our Christian testimonies and better prepared to resist the insidious encroachment of the spirit of infidelity of our religious profession . . .<sup>15</sup>

The plan was carried out successfully. Books were distributed to local meetings. Bookcases with closing doors were built on the walls of many meeting rooms. Such a library still remains in the Back Creek meeting house to this day. Quite a few of these old books are still preserved in other places, such as Rocky River and Holly Spring. The records of Rich Square state that a bookcase was built in 1835 at a cost of six dollars. (A set of rules for the use of books was adopted.)

In 1830 Friends were sufficiently concerned about education to appoint a special committee to examine the condition of Friends schools across the yearly meeting. The report of this committee the following year proved to be a turning point in the history of the yearly meeting.

There is not one school in the limits of this Yearly Meeting that is under



the care of a committee either a monthly meeting or preparative meeting . . . all schools amongst Friends are in a mixed condition . . .<sup>16</sup>

This report has been so much misunderstood that some explanation is in order. Some writers have understood it to mean that there were no schools in existence within the yearly meeting. Such was not the meaning of the statement at all. A second reading of the above quotation will reveal that Friends were concerned about the *laxness* prevailing among the schools. They were distressed that monthly meeting committees were not more strictly in control, and that non-Friends children were in attendance. The term "mixed condition" means that Quaker boys and girls, now becoming a minority in some communities, were no longer receiving an education which was properly "guarded" from outside influences and associations.

This reaction of Friends is quite understandable. The deepening evil of the slavery system in the South was much upon their minds, and they could not be content for their antislavery convictions to be weakened by proslavery influences in their schools. Although this concern does not appear on the surface, it is evident that the establishment of New Garden Boarding School was made increasingly mandatory by the underlying desire to "guard" their children against this prevailing evil.

Shocked into action, the Yearly Meeting appointed a committee to consider the overall situation, and to make recommendations. Those selected were Dougan Clark, Joshua Stanley, Jeremiah Hubbard (Clerk of the Yearly Meeting), Zimri Stuart, Nathan Mendenhall, and David White (Eastern Quarter). This committee worked wisely and well, recommending that a boarding school be established. The spirit of the committee was revealed in this statement:

We believe that the Christian and literary education of our children consistent with the simplicity of our religious profession [is] of very deep interest if not of paramount importance in supporting the various testimonies that we profess to bear to the world, and even to the very existence of our Society.<sup>17</sup>

The last statement of the paragraph above was of great significance, for by the 1830s westward migrations were taking on alarming proportions. Nathan Hunt, one of the most respected men in the yearly meeting, along with other leading Friends realized that the continued existence of the yearly meeting was dependent upon the development of adequately trained teachers and leaders. For this reason, the immediate, explicit purpose of the proposed school was that of "qualifying young men and young women suitable for teachers

under the direction of the Yearly Meeting . . .”<sup>18</sup>

This was really not as secular as it may sound. In practice, these teachers, scores of them, were sent out into the various meetings with the expectation that they would open their schools with devotional exercises, organize Bible classes, and participate in the worship of the local meeting. They were expected to visit the sick, and to hunt up poor children and get them into school and under religious instruction. Allen Jay, having observed the total situation, put it this way:

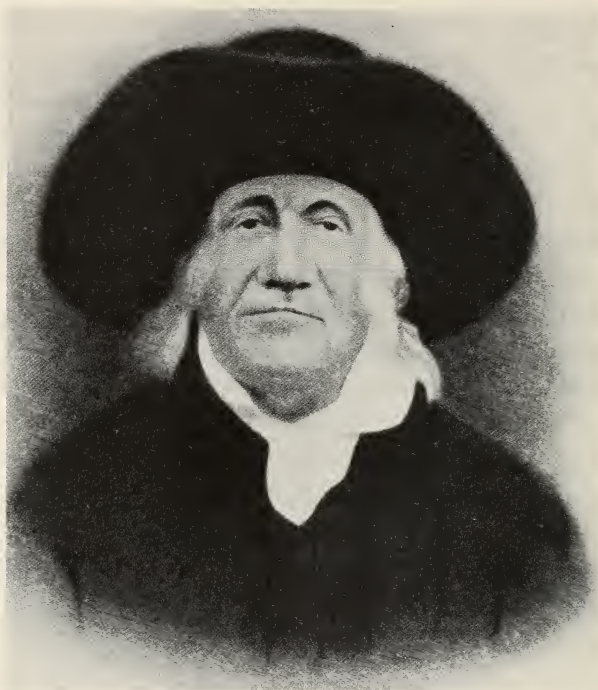
With the blessing of the Lord upon the labor of these dear teachers, the monthly meetings began to receive members, a family at a time, sometimes two or three families. Sometimes the children in the school led their parents into the church.<sup>19</sup>

The yearly meeting minutes for 1890 state that the home missionary teachers’ task would be to “conduct schools, visit families, organize temperance work, assist in the First-day schools, teach and lead in worship.” Writing for the *Friends Messenger* somewhat later, Allen Jay paid this tribute to the teachers whom he remembered during the post-Civil War period:

Many of the teachers were earnest Christians — reading the Bible and having vocal prayer in their schools. They were also active in the First-day schools . . . some of them did pastoral work in the homes on Seventh-days. They did not call it pastoral work, but it was blessed to many. All this turned the minds of people toward Friends, then those of us who preached the Gospel tried as God gave us ability to draw the net to shore. The result was many revivals and many were gathered into the Society.<sup>20</sup>

The scarcity of teachers is easily understood. During preceding decades the Revolutionary War had so limited educational activities that adequately trained teachers were almost non-existent. So great was this scarcity that for many years one teacher would hold two or three schools each year in different communities. Such schools were often referred to in relation to the teacher’s name, rather than the location. For example, “Mary Henley’s School” may have been held in more than one community during the same year. Even the Little Brick School House in the New Garden community remained closed for a time when Jeremiah Hubbard moved to Indiana. Belvidere Academy had to import teachers from New England.

The leading spirit in the establishment of New Garden Boarding School was Nathan Hunt.<sup>21</sup> Although quite elderly by the 1830s, Nathan Hunt lived to see his dream come true. New Garden Boarding School was chartered in 1834, and opened its doors in 1837 with an



*Nathan Hunt*

enrollment of twenty-five girls and twenty-five boys. Many difficult years were to intervene before this school became Guilford College in 1888, but a sound beginning had been made.

As was the case with monthly meeting schools, Friends were deeply concerned that the New Garden School should adhere closely to Quaker principles in every respect. In 1885 an Advisory Committee was appointed by the Yearly Meeting.<sup>22</sup> This group of men and women Friends visited the school each month, observing classroom teaching, student behavior and dress, and the physical needs which might exist. This was done in a most constructive and encouraging manner, and the school profited greatly by this solicitious care. When college status was achieved in 1888, this effort was continued. The Yearly Meeting Advisory Committee was discontinued in 1935, following fifty years of service.<sup>23</sup>

During this general period of renewed interest in education in North Carolina, Friends were not alone in establishing schools. The Moravians founded Salem Academy in 1802; the Presbyterians opened Davidson in 1837; the Methodists, Greensboro Female College in 1838,



and Union Institute in 1838, which became Trinity College in 1851. None of these institutions were then co-educational, however, as was New Garden Boarding School, which was the first co-educational institution in the South.<sup>24</sup>

Addison Coffin, the great Quaker story-teller, commented on the *quality* of students who came to New Garden Boarding School. He states that the instructors had

. . . first class, straight-grained raw materials to work on, and it was pleasing to see how pliant it was in the hands of skilled and intelligent leaders.

In spite of his mixed metaphors, he was obviously speaking the truth. He states that the effect of the first years of training upon the pupils and the Society of Friends at large was "marvelous, almost magical." In glowing terms he describes the effects of New Garden Boarding School upon the whole yearly Meeting:

The good leaven of the boarding school was permeating the whole Society; each student without knowing it had been an active local missionary, and the seed fell on good soil . . . At the end of five years, the influence of the school upon the Yearly Meeting was so marked, the intelligence of the students was so far in advance . . . that the attention and interest of other churches was aroused . . . In a few years may flourishing institutions of learning started up, the large portion of them directly under the management of students from the boarding school.<sup>25</sup>

Perhaps at this point he was thinking especially of Braxton Craven, who went directly from New Garden Boarding School to the Union Institute at Trinity, and later became the first president of Trinity College, now Duke University.<sup>26</sup>

When William Hobson of the Deep Creek Meeting in the Yadkin Valley entered New Garden Boarding School in the early years of its existence, no one could foresee that the training which he was receiving there would help to equip him for his great mission in becoming the "Quaker Moses" of Oregon in the years to come. Neither could anyone see that becoming acquainted with the charming Sarah Tulburt at the school would result in a marriage which would provide him with a lifetime companion during the years which lay ahead.

Apparently, the great problem for students in New Garden Boarding School was not harsh discipline, but the hardship of primitive living conditions. For example, Elmina Wilson wrote home that on cold winter mornings when she washed her face at the outside pump her curly hair froze solid, and had to be thawed out by the fireplace inside.<sup>27</sup> Some of the students were accustomed to similar hardships at

home; this hardship was nothing new.

The lack of adequate medical care was more important. In January, 1838, two girls died. As the body of one of them was being carried out, Asenath Clark exhorted the other students to be ready themselves for "a similar change." Many parents withdrew their children, and the enrollment dropped. The dreaded scourge of diphtheria may have reached the students<sup>28</sup>

At the New Garden Boarding School great effort was made to "keep to plainness." Dramatics of all kinds were forbidden, but students could dramatize their readings, and came very near to drama in their dialogues and debating societies. Art was forbidden, but students could turn calligraphy into a beautiful art form. Competitive sports were forbidden. (How can anyone prevent competition on the playground?) Boys and girls were not allowed to "keep company," but powerful forces of mutual attraction were in operation in spite of all rules and regulations!<sup>29</sup>

Most likely various rules relating to clothing could be more easily maintained; drabness can be made mandatory, but who can control flashing smiles and amorous glances — when the instructor is not looking? Gradual relaxation in the strict rules and regulations occurred as the years passed.

The newly founded school soon encountered the problem of indebtedness. The enrollment was so small and the fees so low that operating expenses could not be met. Officially, the yearly meeting supported the school with great dedication; but local grassroots support was lacking. Just how poor the membership in general was during these years is difficult to say; but apparently very few families were financially able to pay the fees required.<sup>30</sup> In part, the school operated on a barter system. Many students paid part or all of their tuition in terms of farm produce.

More than once the school faced the uncertainty of continued existence. In 1860, for example, a Yearly Meeting committee made this recommendation:

We recommend to the Yearly Meeting to consider the propriety of directing the Trustees of the Boarding School to look to, and endeavor to accomplish a judicious closing up of that Institution, and disposing of the property by sale, at as an early a day as can be prudently done.<sup>31</sup>

At this time Jonathan and Elizabeth Cox came forward and offered to operate the school themselves in order to save it. Assisted by Nereus Mendenhall and others, this was achieved. The school stayed open.<sup>32</sup> At another critical moment Isham Cox undertook a campaign to raise the funds which were necessary to keep the school from closing. Dorothy Gilbert (Thorne) refers to this as "the miracle of Isham Cox."<sup>33</sup>

Fortunately for the struggling school, North Carolina Yearly Meeting was not divided by the schisms which occurred in other parts of the country. It is a reasonable conjecture that New Garden Boarding School would not have existed if Southern Friends had been torn apart by the Hicksite-Orthodox division of 1827, or the Wilburite-Gurneyite controversy of 1845.

In retrospect, it is easy to see that the approaching Civil War made the continued existence of New Garden Boarding School most precarious at best. It was able to stay in operation throughout the four years of the Civil War, while most other schools across the state, and indeed in all the South, were closed.<sup>34</sup> Friends for all time to come are deeply indebted to Nereus Mendenhall and other heroic figures for making this possible.

A still further crisis confronted this Quaker School when the Civil War finally came to a close. Everyone had looked forward to the coming of peace with great hopes and expectations. The suffering continued, however. The dark days of reconstruction set in. The war years had temporarily stopped most Quaker emigrations to the West, but when the roads were open again, hundreds of Friends departed, further weakening the yearly meeting.

To quote Dorothy Gilbert (Thorne) again:

Tired men with no money and big families dreaded emigration, but they turned toward it sternly, for they saw it as the only possible road to recovery. Young men from Pennsylvania, Virginia and Nantucket had cut their way through forests into North Carolina; ninety years later their descendants moved wearily into Indiana and Ohio. The steady flow of emigration had been checked during the war — now it rose to a flood.<sup>35</sup>

Once more the continued existence of New Garden Boarding School was at stake. Somehow, it survived — this time through the timely assistance of the Baltimore Association of Friends, which will be considered in a later section.

Perhaps early Quaker education was lacking in music and appreciation for the fine arts, but it was wholesome in nature. It developed



solid qualities in character, fitting students for lives of genuine usefulness and service. They acquired an understanding of the spiritual value of simplicity, sincerity, integrity, devotion to duty, and reverence for the benevolent will of God.<sup>36</sup>

While North Carolina Friends were getting New Garden Boarding School established, other institutions of higher learning were being founded by Friends all across the country. Many, like New Garden, began as elementary schools and later developed into colleges:

Haverford	1833
Earlham	1847
Swarthmore	1864
Wilmington	1870
William Penn	1873
George Fox	1891
Malone	1892
Friends University	1898
Whittier	1901

Friends established eighteen educational institutions of various kinds between 1830 and 1870.<sup>37</sup>

The efforts of North Carolina Friends in providing education for Negro children are difficult to follow. For more than a century minutes of advice constantly admonished local meetings to provide such opportunities, but there are scant records as to what was actually accomplished. Some Negro children may have attended monthly meeting schools, but there is little indication that this happened to any great extent. Total integration was a concept which had not yet come into existence. Since Friends did not own slaves, except for a relative few in early colonial days, there were not many Negro children in Quaker communities.

As the tensions preceding the Civil War increased, the state assembly passed legislation prohibiting any one from teaching slaves to read and write. The reason was stated quite explicitly:

. . . the teaching of slaves to read and write has a tendency to excite dissatisfaction in their minds and to produce insurrection and rebellion, to the manifest injury of citizens of the state . . .<sup>38</sup>

North Carolina Friends, feeling the inhumanity of this law, strongly petitioned the General Assembly, asking that it be repealed. The tide was running against them, and their effort was to no avail.

In his *Reminiscences*, Levi Coffin tells a fascinating story of his cousin Vestal Coffin's efforts to organize a Sabbath school for colored

people in the Little Brick School House at New Garden in 1821. Permission was secured from a few nearby slave owners for their young slaves to attend.

They all collected at the time appointed . . . they were so excited . . . that they accomplished little that day. The next Sabbath they made better progress, and in a short time some of them had mastered the alphabet and began to spell words with two or three syllables . . . After we had continued the school every Sabbath for most of the summer . . . we found that we would have to give it up. Some of the neighboring slaveholders, who were not friendly to our work, threatened to put the law in force against us. . . . They said it made their slaves discontented . . . we were obliged to give up our school.<sup>39</sup>

It was at the beginning of this school that one of Thomas Caldwell's slaves, called Uncle Frank, a gentle gray-haired old man who had been kept in ignorance all his life, in his joyous enthusiasm uttered a prayer which went on at great length. Addison Coffin's quotation of this prayer, written many years later, sounds more like Coffin's imaginative creation than the actual words of an illiterate slave. At any rate, there is no question about the old man's sincerity, nor of his heart-felt joy in seeing Negro boys and girls being taught to read and write. The opposition of surrounding slave owners prevented this prayer from being fully answered.

In essence, the overall situation in North Carolina was this: in the years prior to the Civil War, the Quakers were legally prohibited from providing education for Negro children. During and following the war, the small remnant of North Carolina Friends was able to do but little in this realm — except with the assistance of the Baltimore Association. This work will be considered in a later section.

## *The Fellowship of Friends*

In the writings of early Friends the common expression, "joined unto Christ," was almost always followed by the further affirmation, "and to one another." The great concern of George Fox was "That all may be as one family, building up one another and helping one another." The first half century of the Quaker movement especially is characterized by self-sacrificial devotion "on which the mind delights to dwell," to borrow an expression from that period. This affection was beautifully expressed by William Caton:

Oh, the love which in that day abounded among us . . . the nearness and dearness that was among us, one toward another . . . and in those days were meetings exceeding precious to us . . . Oh the comfort and refreshment which we had together and the benefit which we reaped thereby.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps this was precisely what the Christian experience was intended to be!

A strong sense of *belonging* developed among first-generation Friends. In times of persecution they became conscious of their dependence upon one another for survival, both physically and spiritually. Each individual was first of all a member of the Christian fellowship, and only incidentally a citizen of England, Ireland or America. They had found a common identity, an awareness of being an integral part of a larger whole. In their experience, this was the Kingdom of Heaven, the Body of Christ in the world.

Throughout the eighteenth century the Society of Friends had no organizational bonds. There was no official head of the Society, no ecclesiastical authority, no formal creed. In many ways, their ties were much like the bonds which held together the first-century Church: devotion based on an awareness of being "one in Christ."<sup>2</sup> When Friends anywhere in the world suffered, no matter how far away, this became the common concern of all. This caring fellowship was greatly strengthened by visiting Friends who traveled "in the love of the Gospel," as emphasized in a previous section.



Persecutions naturally had the effect of drawing first-generation Friends closer to one another. The prisons at that time were horrible places at best; many Friends died there. In 1659 a paper was presented to Parliament signed by 164 members of the Society offering to lie in jail as substitutes for those who were weak, and whose lives were endangered by the cold and the filth of the dungeons:

We in Love to our Brethren that lie in Prisons . . . and dungeons, and many in fetters and irons . . . do offer up our Bodies and Selves to you . . . and do stand ready a Sacrifice for to go into their Places in Love to our Brethren, that they may go forth, and that they may not die in Prison, as many of the Brethren are dead already: For we are willing to lay down our Lives for our Brethren, and to take their Sufferings upon us that you would inflict upon them . . .<sup>3</sup>

This proposal was not accepted by the authorities. Just the same, it echoes the statement of Jesus: "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

From the earliest days, Friends have cared for their own poor and unfortunate members, as is shown by their records, and by provisions in the earliest Books of Discipline which consistently carried a paragraph stating this moral obligation. In the 1823 edition of the North Carolina Discipline, and subsequent editions for many years, Query 8 began: "Are the necessities of poor Friends relieved, and care taken for the education of their children?"

Within this Quaker fellowship, a further dimension appears which is not always duly noted, and that is the sense of equality, the spiritual democracy, which existed among them. Their Christian love was based on mutual respect, which in turn was not affected by wealth or position. The owner of a business might ride to a quarterly meeting with an employee, discussing religious concerns with no thought of any barrier between them. In meetings for worship, the poor felt the same freedom to speak as the more affluent members, and were listened to with the same respect. Some of the most valiant Publishers of Truth were simple yeomen. Mary Fisher, who visited the Sultan of Turkey, was a servant girl. If class consciousness exists in the Society of Friends today, it was not there in the beginning.

Great Quaker gatherings will be considered in a later section, but at the moment attention is called to the way in which early North Carolina Friends endured the hardships of long-distance travel in order to spend a little time together in loving, joyous fellowship. When George Fox visited Friends in America in 1672, he found that those who had traveled long distances in order to be together were "so

knit and united" in this precious time of fellowship that they took "two days for leave-taking after the sessions were over." This particular occasion was in New England, but Carolina Friends in early years were essentially the same. The *Friends Review* stated that the sessions for 1867 closed in this way: "The concluding minute was read under a covering of precious solemnity, and Friends separated in brotherly love."

Desiring more communication than could be achieved by occasional gatherings and traveling ministers, the Society of Friends in its formative years began the custom of exchanging letters of loving concern, called Epistles. George Fox himself was concerned "that once a year . . . God's people know the affairs of Truth, how it spreads . . . having a heavenly correspondence with one another . . ." In a similar vein, North Carolina Friends stated that "To preserve the relation which the several Yearly Meetings stand to each other . . . our Epistolary correspondence was instituted and maintained." In 1855 when the matter came up for discussion the purpose was expressed thus:

We renewedly felt that this annual correspondence between those professing the same faith . . . is very precious, and calculated to strengthen the bonds of Christian brotherhood and love.<sup>4</sup>

In New Testament times, Letters to the Churches by Paul and others were called "Pastoral Epistles." These were for the purpose of sharing the fellowship of Christian love, encouragement, and needed counsel. Early Quaker Epistles served a similar purpose, and were "pastoral" in nature. Sometimes the counsel was rather stern, but always within the bounds of love.

In North Carolina, epistles from other Yearly Meetings were eagerly received and read, especially the one from London. This message was shared as widely as possible. When printing became available, entries of this kind appeared in the Minutes:

John Russell and James Woody were appointed to produce the reprint of 2,000 copies of the London General Epistle . . . and draw on the treasurer of this meeting . . . to defray the expense.<sup>5</sup>

Sometimes quarterly meetings appointed individuals to take the London Epistle to local meetings and to assist in its careful consideration.

The Revolutionary War did not disrupt the fellowship between British and American Friends. Before the outbreak of hostilities,

Friends in England were earnestly laboring in Parliament for the resolution of existing difficulties. In America, Friends were urging conciliatory policies, seeking to avoid the course of events which was leading toward conflict.

When war did come, British Friends sought to send spiritual comfort and material aid to their "brethren in the Colonies." Likewise, Friends in America sought to retain bonds of love and fellowship with their brethren in their homeland.

Almost a century later, during the America Civil War, the London Epistle of 1861 proved to be of great comfort and strength to North Carolina Friends. A few statements will indicate something of the loving concern which it expressed:

Our hearts have been stirred within us in thinking of your troubles . . . We cannot, in justice to our feelings, forbear to assure you of our sympathy and sorrow. . . . If dear brethren . . . your motives be misunderstood, let none of these things move you . . . The more serious the crisis, the more important is it that your testimony to Christ should be maintained.<sup>6</sup>

During the antebellum slavery controversy the Society of Friends was one of the few religious bodies which was not disrupted. For example, the Methodists separated (North and South) in 1844; the Baptists in 1845; the Presbyterians in 1861.<sup>7</sup> In the first report of the Baltimore Association in 1866 Francis T. King commented on "the love, sympathy and interest which have bound us together as a people, at a period when nearly every other tie between the North and the South was severed."<sup>8</sup>

If anything, Friends were drawn even closer together by the sufferings which they shared. It was a time when their unity might have been fragmented, but instead they were gathered into a new sense of belonging to one another. (The material assistance of Northern and Western Friends which came to Southern Friends throughout the Baltimore Association at the close of the war will be considered in a later section.)

The long continued unity among Carolina Friends was expressed by Stephen B. Weeks as follows:

The Yearly Meeting has been particularly free from internal dissensions . . . It has perhaps had less internal disorder than any other Yearly Meeting in America. While others were torn and weakened by internal strife, this went on its work quietly and undisturbed. This immunity



from division has helped it to show that wonderful vitality on which I have already remarked . . .<sup>9</sup>

Henry S. Newman, editor of *The Friend*, London, made a similar observation much earlier, in 1875:

It is worthy of remark that while harmony has been marred and secessions have occurred in many of the Yearly Meetings on the American Continent, North Carolina has maintained its position as the advocate of sound Christian doctrine, neither the spirit of misrule nor the principles of infidelity having found a resting place there.<sup>10</sup>

When piedmont Carolina was settled by Quakers in the second half of the eighteenth century, it soon became evident that these newcomers were quite different from those in East Carolina, where Quakers had been living for almost a century. Their backgrounds were different; their thought patterns were different. Eastern Carolina Friends felt a closer relationship with southeast Virginia Friends than with "western" Friends, and gave some thought to changing their affiliation, but did not proceed with this action.<sup>11</sup>

Piedmont Quakers had occasional problems among themselves. No listing can be made of all the conflicts which have occurred in local situations. One or two references will suffice. In the early days of the Cane Creek Meeting a disruption occurred within the membership which had far-reaching results. Several members were disowned, including Herman Husband. A number of Friends moved away to Wrightsborough, Georgia. The Meeting was greatly weakened.<sup>12</sup> The Eno Meeting, located near Hillsborough, had a brief and troubled existence. Plagued by recurring internal conflicts and consequent removals, the meeting declined, and was laid down in 1847.

As the Society of Friends became more introspective during the quietistic period, doctrinal controversies began to arise. Ironically, the first really great division among Friends occurred in and around the City of Brotherly Love, 1827-1828. The Hicksite-Orthodox separation quickly spread to other eastern and western yearly meetings. Fortunately, North Carolina was spared, although the effects were strongly felt. In 1827 when this controversy was at its height in Philadelphia, North Carolina Friends, leaning strongly toward the Orthodox position as they understood it, produced a paper "On the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and the Authenticity of the Holy

Scriptures” and directed that ten thousand (!) copies be printed and distributed.<sup>13</sup>

In 1829 Friends received along with the London Epistle “a document dictatory of the faith of the Society which after being read was feelingly united with and directed to be recorded in the meeting minutes, which is as follows . . .” Then follows a long dissertation on the Divinity of Christ, from which one would gather that British Friends were not clearly aware of all the factors involved in the Hicksite separation.<sup>14</sup> One thousand copies of this document were printed for distribution.

North Carolina was more threatened by the Wilburite-Gurneyite controversy of 1845, when two Epistles were received from New England Friends. Naturally, this raised the issue as to which one of the two should be recognized and read. The problem was greatly increased by the fact that both factions sent delegations to influence the decision. No doubt this was done in all sincerity, but in retrospect it seems that New England Friends had come very near the dubious position of exporting dissention. The unity of North Carolina Yearly Meeting was at stake.

According to the Minutes of 1845, a committee was appointed to consider the matter and bring a recommendation the following day. Apparently North Carolina Friends were somewhat disposed to accept the position of Gurney as opposed to Wilbur, but the outcome was uncertain. In a series of articles in the *Christian Worker* entitled “Reminiscences of Nathan Hunt” written by his grandson, David N. Hunt, the wisdom and spiritual insight of Nathan Hunt was said to be the deciding factor in saving the unity of the yearly meeting. Quoting from his grandfather, David Hunt wrote: “I see it all. It has just come to me in a perfectly clear light . . .”

Then he began unveiling the whole affair in such a manner as only a profound thinker, inspired by God, could give. . . . He analyzed the whole subject, and so complete and thorough was the analysis that not a single person spoke or moved till the aged patriarch was through. . . . He made one of the most powerful addresses I ever listened to. A profound silence reigned for many moments. Then the clerk rose and read a minute accepting the epistle [of the Gurneyite Friends].<sup>15</sup>

Much more was at stake at this point than even Nathan Hunt himself realized. In retrospect, it is clear that a division among North Carolina Friends during that critical period would have meant the demise of the struggling New Garden Boarding School, which barely survived some very lean years of indebtedness. Furthermore, there is

little likelihood that a divided yearly meeting would have had any chance of survival during the Civil War crisis two decades later.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, conditions arose among North Carolina Friends which severely threatened charitable relationships among themselves. As had been the case with other Friends, they did not always practice toward one another the love and understanding which they advocated for others. "Charitableness sometimes stopped at the meeting house door," as someone put it. Differing points of view rising out of the Revival movement, the approaching pastoral system, and a number of questionable innovations, brought about a separation in the early years of the twentieth century. This will be considered in a later section.



## *Equality for Women?*

For the greater part of human history, men have assumed a superior status for themselves, and assigned to women a secondary, subservient role. Is this the *natural* order? What about violence, race prejudice, slavery and the like? Are these characteristics of ancient history natural and therefore acceptable? To love one's enemies, to turn the other cheek, to suffer evil rather than to fight back — these could hardly be called natural reactions. Jesus taught that there is a way of life where one rises above ancient levels of vengeance and violence into the realm of that which ought to be, that which is *right*.

In the clear light of the teachings of Jesus, George Fox perceived the essential equality of women. This universal spiritual truth is expressed in Galatians 3:28: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female: for you are all one in Christ Jesus." In this elevated concept, there is no place for secondary, subservient roles. Friends believed that this essential equality should prevail within the Christian fellowship, especially in the service of worship. Putting this concept into actual practice was one of the most radical changes made in the Christian Church since the Jerusalem Conference when the decision was made to receive Gentiles into the full fellowship of the Church. (Acts 15)

When George Fox began teaching the spiritual equality of all individuals, this did not mean that women in Quaker groups were instantly and automatically equally *educated*. Relatively few had ever had the privilege of any great amount of formal education. When Friends meetings were set up, most women were without any background of administrative experience whatsoever.

In this situation, once more George Fox did the logical thing which would eventually lead to the full realization of the ideal: he recommended the establishment of schools for girls. This meant a generation of preparation for many, but it was a necessary step. Although men and women assembled together in meetings for worship, Fox perceived that it would be beneficial for women to have business

meetings of their own where they would be free to consider matters of special interest, and where they could gain needed experience in dealing with administrative procedures.

In 1671 Fox wrote a circular letter urging that women's meetings be set up everywhere.<sup>1</sup> There was no implication of inferiority involved, merely a division of labor. With so many Friends in prison and with so many children needing special care, there was great need for an organized effort to render a kind of service which women in that day had traditionally offered. In recommending women's meetings, Fox was not retreating from his equality-ideal, but rather providing for an immediate emergency.

It is not surprising that in the seventeenth century, and for a long time thereafter, the daring concept of equality for women was too advanced to work out fully, even among early Friends. There was some opposition. Fox spoke of "some dark spirits" who could not quite accept the idea.

In actual practice, the men tended to handle the more important matters of business and to hold the final word of authority for themselves. This was not in keeping with the original intent of George Fox, but a tremendous forward step had been taken in spite of some shortcomings.

At no place is it actually stated that women's meetings should be subordinate to men's meetings, but it seems that the men generally assumed this to be true. For example, the North Carolina Discipline of 1823, and other editions following, refers to the women's meeting in the third person — "their meeting." This clearly reveals that the men were writing the Discipline, and assuming that theirs was the real yearly meeting.

It is interesting to note that young persons contemplating marriage were directed to bring the matter before the women's meeting first. Whether this was an indication that the women were thought to be most capable of judging the clearness and fitness of the young people, or whether the men arranged the procedure this way in order that they might have the final word is not clear. Certificates of removal to another meeting were to be prepared for women by the women's meeting, then sent to the men's meeting for approval. This action was not reciprocal for certificates of removal for men.

Equality came most nearly being absolute in the meeting for worship. When women Friends felt the moving and prompting of the Holy Spirit, they were free to stand and speak. And they did so! Thus it was that an amazing phenomenon in Church history appeared: women preachers! This was totally forbidden in the Established

At a Yearly Meeting of Women  
Friends, held at Little Mount in Rowan County,  
North Carolina the 26<sup>th</sup> of the 10<sup>th</sup> month  
A.D. 1812. The Representations for the Eastern  
Quarter are Peyer Winslow, Sarah White, Sarah  
Munden, Maria Morris, Mary Trueblood, and  
Elizabeth Newby.

For the Western Quarter Caroline  
Winslow, Sarah Dixon, Mary Love, and Mary  
Stimpy.

For New Garden Quarter Mary Thornbo-  
rough, Rebecca Witham, Miriam Macy,  
Beniah Hunt, Rebecca Beard, & Kourishing  
Bundy, Elizabeth Kendall, and Rachel  
Thomas.

For Centinnea Quarter Sarah New-  
son, Mary Woodard, and Sarah Holden.  
No Representatives for Wilsfield, nor Lost Creek

Church of England, based on Paul's first-century prohibition in his letter to the Corinthians. Surrounding people of that day were horrified by the Quaker heresy of allowing women to preach! But George Fox was undaunted in his convictions, declaring that "Women are to take up the Cross daily and follow Christ as well as the men, and so be taught by Him . . . for they have the stewardship to the Lord as well as men."<sup>22</sup>

Robert Barclay stated quite clearly the Quaker faith in the equality of women in the ministry. He wrote:

[The Gospel ministry] is not monopolized by a certain kind of men . . . thereunto, whether rich or poor, servant or master, young or old, yea,



male or female.<sup>3</sup>

Having stated the doctrine in this way, Barclay goes on to put the matter upon a pragmatic basis, pointing out what has actually happened:

It hath been observed, that God hath effectually in this day converted many souls by the ministry of women; and by them also frequently comforted the souls of his children; which manifest experience puts the thing beyond all controversy.<sup>4</sup>

During Margaret Fell Fox's long imprisonment she wrote a pamphlet, *Women's Speaking Justified*. This was a pioneer manifesto in the liberation movement. It could be noted that thirteen of the Valiant Sixty in England were women, and that some early women ministers were "greatly favored in the ministry."

In the very first years of the Quaker movement a surprising number of newly liberated women ministers of great ability became active in publishing Truth, traveling far and wide, preaching with great fervor. They were amazingly courageous. Severe persecution and the hardships of travel did not deter them. Mary Fisher and Ann Austin arrived in Puritan Massachusetts in 1656, the first Quakers to reach America, insofar as is positively known.<sup>5</sup> The following year four other Friends arrived, three of whom were women. Among the first Quakers to visit Maryland and Virginia was Elizabeth Harris of London, who came in 1656. Mary Fisher made a fantastic journey to visit the Sultan of Turkey, who treated her with much more respect and kindness than she had received earlier in Puritan Boston.

The opposition and persecution which these women Publishers of Truth encountered is almost unbelievable. Mary Fisher was cruelly humiliated and whipped ("until the blood ran down") for preaching to the students at Cambridge (England). Mary Fisher and Ann Austin upon arriving in Boston were stripped and searched for marks of witchcraft. They were held in solitary confinement without light or writing material, then shipped out to the Barbados. Mary Dyer was hanged on Boston Common in 1660.

During the years when the men's and women's sessions of yearly meeting convened separately, the first item of business in each was to appoint two messengers to the other meeting. In addition to the official duties of these messengers relating to matters of business, occasional visiting Friends or others with some special concern were given permission to visit the other meeting. For example, when Walter Robson was visiting in 1869, he entered this statement into his *Journal*:

"I was liberated to visit the Women's meeting & spoke to the dear sisters till tears flowed plentifully."<sup>6</sup>

In a lighter vein, the late Ernest Lamb was much impressed by the wonderful preaching of Sarah Jane Chapman. He made this comment: "If the Apostle Paul could have heard her, I think he would not have prescribed silent worship for women."<sup>7</sup> There may be much truth in his observation!

Two outstanding women ministers in Carolina during the colonial period were Charity Cook and Abigail Pike, both of whom lived at one time in the Cane Creek community. Our first glimpse of John and Abigail Pike comes from their residence in the Perquimans County area. When the Virginia Meetings of Hopewell and Fairfax were being established, John and Abigail Pike moved their large family to the Shenandoah Valley where they assisted Friends who were settling there. A little later, when Friends began arriving in the Piedmont, the Pike family moved again, this time to the Cane Creek area, where Abigail assisted in getting Cane Creek established as a monthly meeting, as indicated earlier. She also assisted in the setting up of New Garden in 1753.<sup>8</sup>

The famous Charity Cook spent her early years in the Cane Creek community, later moving to the Wateree Meeting in South Carolina. In her religious visit to England, Charity Cook was at times met with something less than the full and equal acceptance which would have come to her if she had been a man. At Banbury Quarterly Meeting in 1801, James Jenkins wrote that "Charity Cook and Mary Sweet (from America) exercised their little gifts in the ministry."<sup>9</sup>

Unfortunately women through the years have had to struggle forward and upward toward equality when it was their inalienable right all the while. Could it be said that women have been too willing to accept the status quo, and to fit into ancient patterns all too meekly? One interesting event occurred when William Hunt of North Carolina visited a women's quarterly meeting in England a little over two hundred years ago. The minutes of that meeting, written by the women themselves, contain these words:

. . . our Friend William Hunt from North Carolina . . . [was] led to speak to the . . . encouragement and consolation of the weak . . . to the hindermost of the flock that they might be brought forward . . .<sup>10</sup>

It seems that American women have been somewhat more aggressive concerning their rights. As a whole, they have not been quite comfortable when men say that *they* have granted women equal status.

When Elizabeth Comstock received a report of the sessions of London Yearly Meeting, she exclaimed:

There is one thing I do not like . . . Why should you call the Men's Meeting "The Yearly Meeting?" . . . To allow the self-styled "Lords of Creation" to arrogate so much to themselves is outrageous."<sup>11</sup>

She went on to say that for the men to call the men's meeting *the* yearly meeting would not be suffered in America.

It is noteworthy that two remarkable women ministers initiated the movement which was destined to bring the long period of quietism to an end in the Society of Friends. These two capable, dynamic women were Mary Dudley of England (who had been a close friend of John Wesley) and Rebecca Jones of Philadelphia. Both preached with great evangelistic fervor, stressing the human need for Divine Grace. Both struck a new note in Quaker preaching. Their glowing messages were so well accepted that the result was a turning point in Quaker doctrine. Of course these two women were succeeded by a number of men who preached the same evangelical doctrine. The only point being made here is that a tremendous reorientation in the Society of Friends was begun by two women ministers.<sup>12</sup> Many decades later, in an indirect way, the influence of these two great spiritual leaders came into North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

When separate business meetings for women were held, the women assembled on one side of the room, and the shutters were closed. When the shutters were opened for periods of worship, everyone remained quietly in place. The custom of women sitting on one side of the meeting room and the men on the other had no great adverse effects, perhaps; and yet, something may have been lost in not having the whole family sitting together in worship when a sense of togetherness is most needed.

During the nineteenth century North Carolina Quaker women began increasingly to assume an important role in educational activities. Before that time there had been very few women teachers. Even as late as 1838 the teacher at the Holly Spring elementary school was a young man, Braxton Craven, who attended New Garden Boarding School the next year. (Later he became the first president of Trinity College, now Duke University.)

A roll call of outstanding Quaker women teachers and the schools





*Third Meeting House at Springfield, near High Point. Built in 1857, it has the partition to separate men's and women's meetings. The women's front entrance is obscured in this picture. The building now houses the Museum of Old Domestic Arts.*

they initiated would be impressive indeed. Where would it begin? Early in the nineteenth century Judith Mendenhall, daughter of Richard Mendenhall, went to Germantown, Pennsylvania, to secure needed training, as there were no schools for Quaker girls in the South at that time. Upon returning (1816) she established and conducted the Female Boarding School near Jamestown, Guilford County.<sup>13</sup> This school must be distinguished from the Jamestown Female College established in 1855 under the guidance of George C. Mendenhall, a prominent Quaker lawyer who was Judith's uncle. The latter school was sponsored by the Methodist Conference of North Carolina. It flourished for a time, with an enrollment which reached one hundred. Just before the war the building burned down.<sup>14</sup>

Guilford and Randolph counties seem to have been the state's early educational center for women. In 1859 the *Greensborough Patriot* issued this statement: "Taking High Point as a Center . . . with a radius of 20 miles, there cannot be less than 1,000 girls at school within that circumference . . ."<sup>15</sup>

Two Quaker women, Margaret Davis and Penelope Gardner, conducted an elementary boarding school at Florence, North Carolina, near the Deep River Meeting. At first this school was primarily for girls, but later boys attended. This school was very successful, and continued until the beginning of the Civil War.<sup>16</sup>

Mary Henley of the Back Creek community was a teacher of great ability, and the "Mary Henley Schools" are mentioned in the records of many different communities. (She later moved to Indiana, where she continued teaching.) Three more Marys — Mary M. Hobbs, Mary M. Petty, and Mary C. Woody — exerted great influence in the establishment and development of the institution which is now known as The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, and also Bennett College, Greensboro, a school for Negro girls.

With reference to New Garden Boarding School, Harriet Peck and Catherine Cornell, who came down from Rhode Island to join the first faculty, should be mentioned with great appreciation. Then there was Elizabeth Cox, who along with her husband Jonathan Cox, lived and worked sacrificially to keep the school from being sold for debts which had been incurred.<sup>17</sup>

Once more Quakers did not put their highest ideals fully into practice. At the New Garden Boarding School, women teachers received less than half the pay received by men teachers! Equal pay for equal work was a concept yet far in the future. Only recently at Guilford Collge has it become a reality.

The Uniform Discipline of the Five Years Meeting adopted in North Carolina in 1902 did not make any provision for separate business meetings for women. Instead, it expressly stated their equality in the affairs of the church.<sup>18</sup> This was something of an *ex post facto* provision for North Carolina, as this step had already been taken. The last clerk of record for the women's yearly meetings was Priscilla B. Hackney in 1898. No clerk for the women's meeting was appointed in 1899, but Priscilla Hackney signed the yearly meeting mintues as in indication of full participation.<sup>19</sup>

Separate business meetings apparently ceased to exist by common consent, gradually and naturally, as women increasingly became involved in the total program of activities. During these transitional years North Carolina Yearly Meeting was blessed with a large number of capable women whose spiritual leadership was accepted as a matter of course. Obviously no difficult decisions had to be made, no official actions were taken. The nineteenth century closed with men and



women not only worshiping together, but also considering the affairs of the church together. The old order had given place to the new. Women still had their missionary societies and other specialized activities; but they had become full participants in business meetings.

Friends may move a bit slowly sometimes, but they do move. It took North Carolina Friends the greater part of three centuries to get around to appointing women clerks, but it did happen: Ruth R. Hockett in 1970, and Sarah Pate Wilson in 1982.

As of the moment, five American Yearly Meetings (Friends United Meeting) have had women clerks: North Carolina, New York, Baltimore, New England, and Canada. At the Fourth World Conference of Friends in 1967, women outnumbered the men in some delegations, but in actual participation, the men took the lead. Two years later at the St. Louis Conference in which most American yearly meetings were represented, ten yearly meetings sent all-men delegations; five had appointed only one woman. There was only one woman on the program officially. These figures indicate that women are not yet participating equally with men in dealing with policies, doctrines, and organizational structures.

Even though the Quaker ideals did not work out perfectly or instantaneously, Friends were still a century or more ahead of their times. Equal rights for women found its first voice among Friends. In the political realm it was women of Quaker background such as Lucretia Mott and Susan B. Anthony who were the great leaders in a day when it was extremely unpopular, even dangerous, to challenge the status quo. In North Carolina, Mary M. Hobbs, Mary C. Woody, and others of like zeal and capability labored unceasingly for woman suffrage.

The movement proceeded slowly in North Carolina. Long-standing prejudices do not disappear suddenly and easily. As early as 1897 the state representative from Yancey County had the courage to propose a bill to the General Assembly which would grant women the right to vote. This bill was referred to the Committee on Insane Asylums! This was thought to be the proper committee to consider such a bill.<sup>20</sup>

As a matter of record, a national Constitutional Amendment granting women the right to vote was introduced in Washington in 1878, but not passed by the House of Representatives until 1918, forty years later. It was ratified in 1920.

The story of the United Society of Friends Women in North Carolina



is told rather fully in *Carolina Quakers*.<sup>21</sup> This movement had its beginning in Indiana and Western Yearly meetings in 1881, with Eliza Armstrong Cox, who had North Carolina background, taking the lead. This organization, first called the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, came into existence almost spontaneously. Local women's groups (following the lead of Methodist women) began forming missionary societies, and it remained only for an organization on the yearly meeting level to be created.

Although it was the custom then for matters of business to be referred to the men's meeting for approval, the interest in forming a Woman's Foreign Missionary Society was so great that this formality was overlooked. As Eliza Armstrong Cox put it, "for once we did something all by ourselves!"<sup>22</sup> To the credit of the men, no procedural questions were raised, and the action was "commended most heartily."

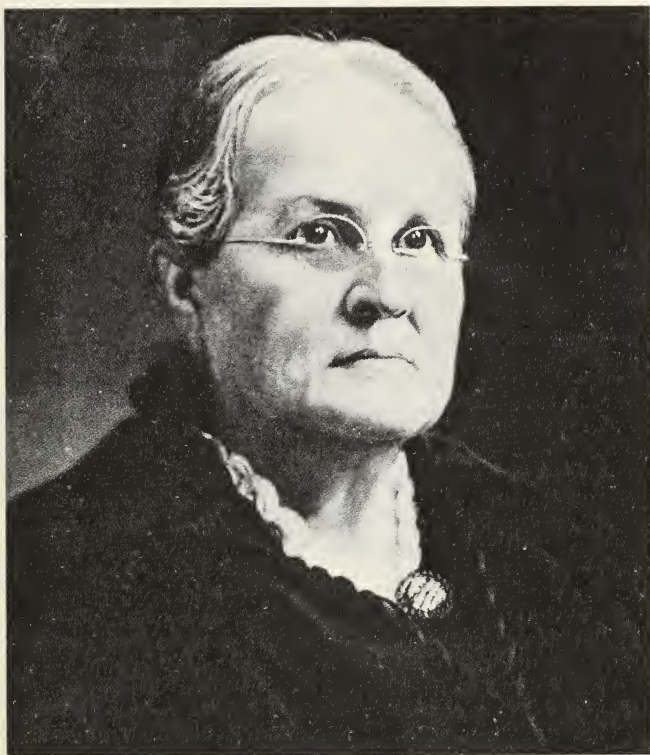
The first Woman's Missionary Society in North Carolina was formed at New Garden in the home of Mary C. Woody in 1885, with four members: Mary S. Peele, Mary C. Woody, Debra Parker, and Sarah Morris. Piney Woods followed in 1886. An organization on the yearly meeting level was formed, which had as its purpose not only the spreading of the Gospel abroad, but also "the elevation of women in the Yearly Meeting." Obviously they were not waiting for the men to do something for them.

If a tree can be judged by its fruits, and if the rightness of a concept can be judged by its beneficial results, then indeed it can be said that George Fox and the early Friends were "walking in the light of truth!" The ministry of women has enriched the life of the Church for over three hundred years. Stephen B. Weeks made this observation:

No church since the days of the Apostles has allowed such great freedom in the Gospel to women as has been allowed by Friends. Under their system man and woman are equal, and Quaker women have repaid this greater liberty with unsurpassed zeal and devotion.<sup>23</sup>

The Quaker elevation of women to their rightful status has liberated them for greater levels of spiritual and intellectual attainments. An amazing number of women have achieved prominence as leaders, educators, and ministers. In 1971 Harvard University published a three-volume reference work entitled *Notable American Women*. According to a percentage of population, Quaker listings were all out of proportion — about a hundred times the expected number, according to Edwin Bronner of Haverford College.<sup>24</sup>

Before leaving this theme, special tribute should be paid to Ann Jessup of the New Garden Meeting (mentioned earlier). In 1790 she



*Mary Mendenhall Hobbs*

felt a concern to visit England "in the service of truth." While there she was much impressed by the quality of English fruits and flowers, and decided to bring a quantity of seeds, bulbs, and tree-cuttings back to her home plantation about a mile north of the New Garden Meeting House. It so happened that a neighbor, Abijah Pinson, was an expert in grafting fruit trees. Ann Jessup employed him to develop an orchard and plant farm, the first in piedmont Carolina. Soon her trees were bearing fruit superior to any known in the community.<sup>25</sup>

Later, Pinson moved to the Westfield community, where he developed a large nursery. From there his fruit trees were scattered all over the countryside, and into western states, especially Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.<sup>26</sup> Perhaps many people never knew how much they were indebted to a Quaker minister, Ann Jessup!

Lest anyone should think that Carolina Quaker men of colonial days were not sufficiently considerate, they provided "upping blocks" for the ladies at meeting houses, so that those who rode horseback to

meeting could remount their horses easily. By way of explanation, an upping block was generally a three-foot length of a large tree. On one side, two steps were made, so that the lady could walk up for convenient side-saddle mounting. The upping block at the Deep River Meeting was built of stone, and it still remains. Quaker women did not have to deal with the hoop-skirt problem, but some assistance in mounting their horses was quite helpful.

One final word: the Quaker wedding ceremony has never provided for the father to "give" the bride, as though he held ownership. Furthermore, the bride has never had to promise to obey her husband in any one-way arrangement.



## *Well-Dressed Quakers*

In the early decades of the Quaker movement, George Fox advised his followers to dress simply and modestly and to avoid the vain frivolities of the world. First-generation Friends wore the common clothing of the day — devoid of faddish frills and ornaments. As styles and fashions changed, Friends simply retained the more modest forms to which they were accustomed. By this time the world had gone on to still other fads. Again the Quakers retained the simpler, plainer clothing which was in keeping with their religious ideals.

Considering the absurd and immodest fashions of the seventeenth century (and other centuries following) Friends had ample reason to emphasize “plainness” in dress. Why then this special chapter on the subject? For the reason that in the course of time a peculiar form of dress became a mark of distinction which labeled the wearers as a people separate from the world. Distinctive dress became a kind of silent witness. It tended to weld Friends together, and to promote a group spirit in a hostile world.

Apparently, wearing a distinctive form of dress was a constant reminder to the individual that he was separate from the world. This badge of separation may have kept many individuals from being seen in unwholesome places and from keeping unsavory company. A great many temptations were thus more easily avoided.

Another important value of plain dress was an expression of social equality. Friends stayed clear of the “frills and ornamentation” of the upper classes, even when expensive clothing could have been afforded. The fundamental equality of all individuals before God was thus demonstrated in the lives of the Children of Light.

Before many decades had passed, problems began to emerge. Certain forms of dress were considered by some individuals to have Divine approval, and thus to possess an inherent sacredness. This concept may have been a bit questionable, but it was firmly held, nonetheless. It is a little surprising to find that a people who placed so much stress on inward experience, as opposed to outward forms and

ceremonies, should have placed so much emphasis upon external things of this kind. A second thought, however, makes it clear that religious practices and symbols can become quite dear to the hearts of sincere people, insomuch that forsaking them is seen as "departing from the Truth."

Further difficulty arose when plainness in dress was made to mean certain specific designs for women, and also for men. In effect, this implied that one particular form was indeed more sacred than another. At this point, the original freedom of the individual in making decisions was limited by external restrictions and unwritten rules. Something like mandatory drabness came into existence.

Compliance was never complete, however. Thomas Elwood was deeply troubled, even in his day, that Friends were not consistently "staying with plainness."

It hath come to pass that there is scarce a new Fashion comes up, or a fantastic Cut invented, but some one or other that professes Truth, is ready with the foremost to run into it . . . Let every one examine himself that this Achan, with his Babylonish garment, may be found out and cast out, for indeed, he is a troubler of Israel.<sup>1</sup>

His use of the term "cast out" foreshadows disownments which were to follow when disciplinary enforcement was adopted.

It is not easy to ascertain precisely how Friends did dress in the early days of the movement. Photography had not been invented, and except for William Penn and possibly a few others, first-generation Friends did not sit for portraits. Benjamin Franklin put it this way: "Primitive Quakers used to declare against pictures as a vain expense; a man's suffering his portrait to be made was conceived as pride, and I think to this day is very little practiced among them."

The portrait of George Fox which hangs in the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College was presented to the College in 1921 by the trustee, J. Elwood Cox. It is a copy of the original which is in the Friends Historical Library at Swarthmore, said to have been painted by Sir Peter Lely. This painting is of special interest, even though it is generally conceded that George Fox did not actually sit for the portrait.

Apparently George Fox and his contemporaries wore knee breeches, the common dress of his day, but without the customary silver buckles and frills. Only in the following century did long trousers appear. Many Friends considered trousers very worldly, and resisted the change. In one account which has come down to us, a very devout woman minister in her prayer thanked the Lord that "we

still have a precious remnant in breeches.”<sup>2</sup>

The headdress of men varied almost as much as that of women. First-generation Quakers wore hats similar to those worn by the Puritans, again without the silver buckles. The straight broad brim which is our stereotype today was unknown at that time.

Toward the end of the seventeenth century Margaret Fell Fox lamented a trend toward what she considered *unnecessary drabness*. By this time she was over eighty years of age, but still of a vigorous spirit. Pleading for more individual freedom as opposed to strict rules and regulations, she said, “It’s a dangerous thing to lead young Friends much into the observation of outward things, which may be easily done; for they can soon get into an outward garb, to be all alike outwardly; but this will not make them true Christians.” She thought things had gone well with the Quaker movement — “till now of late that this narrowness and strictness is entering in, that many cannot tell what to do or not to do.” She wrote:

Poor Friends is mangled in their minds, they know not what to do. For one Friends says one way and another another. But Christ Jesus saith, that we must take no thought what we shall eat, or what we shall drink, or what we shall put on; but bids us consider the lilies how they grow in more royalty than Solomon. But contrary to this, they say we must look at no colours, nor make anything that is changeable colours as the hills are, nor sell them nor wear them. But we must be all in one dress and one colour. This is a silly poor gospel. It is more fit for us to be covered with God’s eternal Light, which leads us and guides us into righteousness and to live righteously . . . in this present evil world.<sup>3</sup>

Apparently her protest went unheeded. A movement had been set into motion which would last for two centuries. Many early Friends took the matter of plainness in dress seriously indeed, carrying rules and regulations to great extremes. Continuing exhortations to plainness and simplicity in various Advices were often stated in quaint terms. For example, the North Carolina Minute of Advice for 1848 was in part as follows:

And what shall we say to those who are inclined to deck their perishable forms in frippery, and follow the fashions of a deluded world? Is it not evidence that you have not your treasures in heaven . . . ?<sup>4</sup>

An interesting collection of statements about dress could be gleaned from early Quaker journals. The condemnations of current styles were sometimes a bit harsh. One example will suffice:

The lofty and airy *Position* of Men’s Hats; the *Ribbands*, *knots*, and



*Ruffles* upon women's Heads . . . the curious *Girdles* . . . the *mourning Apparel* . . . at *Funerals* . . . But of all the giddy Modes, antic and fantastic Inventions . . . was there ever any Thing contrived so much for the *Ruin of Female Modesty* . . . as these immodest, indecent, odious, *extravagant Hoops* . . . ?[Italics his.]<sup>5</sup>

Consistency has not always been achieved, and Quakers have had their full share of unique characters who have added a touch of the ludicrous to problems of plainness. A woman Friend who lived two centuries ago kept a diary which gives an interesting insight into well-intentioned efforts toward sobriety.

Oh, how I have grieved this day because of this playing of ball and this fishing [on Saturday] . . . it never was harder to bring up children to be good in any age of the world than it is now . . . Oh, the fashions and running into them! The young men wearing their hats set [turned] up behind . . . the girls . . . have their necks set off with a black ribbon, a sorrowful sight indeed! . . . So much excess of tobacco, and tea is as bad . . . and there is the calico! We pretend to go in a plain dress and plain speech: but where is our plainness? . . . It fills me with sorrow when I see people so full of laugh and talk . . .<sup>6</sup>

For some reason, more was said about plain dress for women than for men. First generation Quaker women were advised to "wear on their heads a plain coif without any ruffling." They were to "put their hair straight back." Later, New Garden women were warned in 1780 against "departing from the truth . . . by rolling or bunching the hair."

Simplicity has always been a bit difficult to define precisely, and it is not surprising that Friends had their problems. As to inconsistencies, Delphina Mendenhall of the Deep River Meeting used to tell of a man who came to meeting wearing a pea-green coat and pink pants. The following conversation is said to have occurred between two Quaker women — somewhere:

"It is not right for thee to wear flowers on thy hat!"

"But there are *feathers* on thy hat . . ."

"Well, one has to draw the line somewhere; I draw it at feathers."

Only a few years ago a beautiful poster was being displayed to illustrate the fact that alcohol is not needed in a Christian home to promote happiness. After the meeting, one dear Friend was seen hurrying down to examine the poster more closely. "If the mother is wearing *earrings*, it is not a Christian home," she declared.

Many years ago Amelia Gummere wrote a fascinating book in which she claims that the stereotype Quaker bonnet with which we are familiar today (sometimes irreverently described as the "coal scuttle"



or “sugar scoop”) came to America in its original “stiff-pleat” form on the head of a woman minister in 1798. The journal of Ennion Cook, 1820, has this notation, as quoted by Gummere:

Martha Routh, a Minister of the Gospel from Old England was at Goshen [Pennsylvania] Meeting the 11th day of 11th month, 1798; she was means (if I mistake not) of bringing bonnets in fashion for leading Friends . . .<sup>7</sup>

If this is correct, Quaker bonnets as we know them were not worn in North Carolina for the first half of our three-century history, but are a much later development. A painting of a Friends Meeting in London from about 1778, shows some women wearing the newly introduced bonnets, while others are wearing the flat beaver, or

“skimming dish” hats — in some cases tied down over their ears. A few of the older women are wearing hoods. (The men are wearing wigs, cocked hats, and knee breeches.) The women are sitting on one side of the aisle; the men on the other. It might also be noted that in this painting, the seats have backs, a luxury which was not common in that day. The artist may have taken some liberties!

As to hats for the men, the broad flat-brimmed kind often associated with early Quakers is a relatively recent creation. The Nathan Hunt hat in the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College was made probably at Beard’s hat shop in Jamestown in the early 1800s.

At one time there was a great deal of question among Friends as to whether men’s hats should have stays in them. When Charity Cook was visiting London Yearly Meeting the matter was considered, and she entered into the discussion, much to the annoyance of British Friends. (Had she not come from the Carolina “back country,” Cane Creek and Bush River?) She favored stays; most likely she remembered the flopping beaver hat worn by her brother-in-law, big Isaac Hollingsworth at Bush River.<sup>8</sup>

Quite a long time before portraits became acceptable, silhouettes cut out of black paper and pasted onto a white background became quite popular among many eighteenth century Friends. These were “unlikely to encourage vanity, and were very inexpensive.” A fascinating collection of these was made by Anna Cox Brinton, from which one can learn a great deal about hats, bonnets and hair styles of that period.<sup>9</sup>

Having been admonished to “stay by plainness” of dress for so long, it was only natural for North Carolina Friends to come to the conclusion that there was some special religious virtue in wearing clothes similar to those worn by ancient Friends. The Minute of Advice for 1864 contains the customary admonition, adding by way of explanation, “As a society we have with slight modifications, retained the style of dress which prevailed at the time of its origin.”<sup>10</sup> This reflects the intention of Friends to retain original forms of dress. In actuality, however, greater changes and variations had occurred during the preceding two centuries than the writers of the Advice knew.

In a brief article entitled “Conditions in Carolina at the Close of the Civil War,” Mary Mendenhall Hobbs recounted some memories relative to dress:

Some young ladies in the community acquired great skill in plaiting



straw, which they made into neat little hats . . . I know we looked like composites of all styles and ages to those dear Friends who came first after the close of the war, but they looked marvelous to us too. I never shall forget how their finery impressed me far more than their messages . . . When you have no opportunity to buy anything, your wits become active and you invent fashions adapted to the quantity of material.”<sup>11</sup>

In 1869 and again in 1887 the artist-teacher John Collins of New Jersey visited North Carolina Yearly Meeting. In beautiful script he recorded fascinating comments on what he heard, and in beautiful watercolor what he saw. In these two books, “Among Friends in North Carolina, 1869,” and “A Summer Trip to North Carolina, 1887,” one may gain insights into what Friends were doing and saying, and also how they were dressed.<sup>12</sup> Some simple gingham and calicoes were available, most of which were woven in the cotton mills along Deep River in Randolph County. Of the six illustrative “portraits” which Collins painted (four women and two men), only one so-called Quaker bonnet appears. Both of the men wear hats which do not at all fit the stereotyped pattern.

In a group painting, Collins depicted some of the women wearing variations of the Quaker bonnet, while others were wearing bright colored hoods and hats of all description, made of whatever materials were available, and of designs which were not beyond their skills. The “hard pleated bonnet” was not easy to make, and few could afford the white silk lining which framed the face in a most attractive way. The pleats and the ruffles, and the bow of ribbon tied under the chin, were considered to be too vain and worldly by most Friends, even when affordable. When Stanley Pumphrey visited the Yearly Meeting in 1875 he commented: “Some of the young women go in for ribbons. The proportion of Friends wearing the conventional dress of the Society is not large.”<sup>13</sup>

Relaxation relative to rules of dress came about gradually. While still recommending plain dress, an Advice made some concessions:

We do not believe that religion consists in a garb of a peculiar shape; but we do believe that the man of solid principle will not adopt the dress of a fop . . . he will dress in a plain and simple manner . . .<sup>14</sup>

By 1876 mandatory disownment for “departing from plainness” was changed to a general admonition: “We would affectionately enjoin upon our members that simplicity of dress, language and deportment which becomes the Cross-bearing followers of the Holy Redeemer.”<sup>15</sup>

The mention of cross-bearing in this statement is significant. In the late 1800s the wearing of peculiar Quaker garb became more difficult,

especially for younger people. Older people were not so greatly troubled, but even they did not always find it an easy thing to do. Quite recently this sincere statement appeared in a Friends publication:

I seem to feel required to put before the readers . . . how my sister . . . felt, to bear a greater testimony in putting on a stiff bonnet . . . and keeping it on during the meeting time . . . where others took off their bonnets . . . The suffering she underwent on that account was very great . . . As I had been through the ordeal of putting on a Quaker hat, I could sympathize with her and encourage her to faithfulness.<sup>16</sup>

Obviously, sincerity and spiritual obedience of this order deserve profound admiration and respect.

Perhaps most Friends today would agree with the famous Dr. Johnson who expressed the belief that a man who could not get to heaven in a green coat could not get there in a gray one. This rather flippant observation, however, falls short of the whole truth. Elbert Hubbard stated the matter much more comprehensively:

Quakerism is a protest against an idle, vain, voluptuous and selfish life. It is the natural recoil from insincerity and vanity . . . which causes men and women to "come out" and stand firm for plain living and high thinking.<sup>17</sup>

In the human situation there are always instances of "straining at gnats and swallowing camels." Quakers have been no exception to the rule. And yet through three centuries they have borne a noble testimony which has all too often been underestimated. The preceding pages may have mentioned an undue number of inconsistencies, and too many absurd extremes. Even so, one significant fact stands out bold and strong: the *honesty* and *sincerity* of a people who were truly endeavoring to clear themselves of sin and moral corruption.

A century ago Joseph John Gurney, writing for the *Friends Review* on the general subject of plain dress made the observation, "We ought to distinguish between *clothing* and *ornament*." He was emphasizing the idea that Quaker simplicity in dress required the elimination of vain and stylish ornamentation. Most North Carolina Quakers during the present century have not felt the need to retain a peculiar, or distinctive form of dress. Rather, the consensus has been that simplicity, modesty and good taste should be the guidelines.

Francis Anscombe used to say, "If a young lady is immodestly dressed and exudes a confused aroma of alcohol, perfume and nicotine, she is probably not a Quaker."

## *Some Friends Were Disowned*

During the second century of Quaker history an excessive number of disownments caused the Society of Friends to be much smaller and weaker than it would have been otherwise. Since it is easier to be critical than to be charitable, some effort should be made to see the total situation, and to understand, if not to approve, the actions of Friends during this troubled period. Actually, disownment can take many modern forms. No official action has to be taken in order for troubled persons to be neglected, and thus made to feel that they are no longer a part of the fellowship. Friends may even disown one another in very effective ways.

During early years the very fact that delinquent members were dealt with honestly shows something of the spiritual integrity which prevailed. There was no condoning sinful conduct, no relaxing of high moral standards. Insofar as sincere efforts to keep the membership above reproach were tempered with charitable understanding, everyone could agree that some disownments were necessary. The difficulty arose when maintaining the "purity of the Society" took precedence over individual well-being, and when members were disowned for minor, inadequate reasons.

Problems of membership have not been confined to the Society of Friends, nor are they new in the world. In Old Testament times it was decreed that any person who did not obey the prescribed rules (laws) should be "cut off from his people."<sup>1</sup> When the Jews were returning to Jerusalem after the captivity, Ezra and Nehemiah made strenuous efforts to preserve the identity of the Jewish people and the purity of their worship. Extremely harsh methods were used in casting out foreign elements, especially non-Jewish wives.

Likewise in the Christian tradition, the Roman Catholic Church has a centuries-old history of excommunicating people who do not conform to prescribed patterns. Also, one might remember the strict standards of the Amish, who outdid the Quakers in efforts to keep a "pure church of believers only." Among the early Moravians, Count



Zinzendorf positively forbade marriage with outsiders. Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists were also strict in standards of conduct in earlier years.

During the period when Quaker disownments were most common, the process usually began with a "complaint"; that is, some erring member was "complained against" in the Meeting on Ministry and Oversight. If there seemed to be sufficient grounds, a committee was appointed by the monthly meeting to "labor" with the individual, to see if he might repent, confess the error of his ways, and be restored to the fellowship of the meeting. If the individual declined to "condemn his conduct and make satisfaction," the matter was taken back to monthly meeting, where disownment might occur. The individual had the right to appeal to the quarterly meeting, and even to the yearly meeting, if the local action did not seem just.

An interesting glimpse of the procedure involved comes from the minutes of the Bush River Meeting, long ago. One member had been "dealt with" for "using unbecoming language something like swearing." Penitently, he condemned his conduct. The meeting accepted his confession as satisfactory, and appointed "Samuel Brown to publish it at the close of a meeting for worship on First day at Bush River, and report his care to next monthly meeting."<sup>2</sup>

When less serious offenses were involved, individuals were "elderred"; that is, they were reprimanded, and given appropriate counseling and warning. Hopefully, this was done in a spirit of understanding kindness.

Among early North Carolina Friends, some of the first disownments were for participation in military activity. For example, Emanuel Lowe, one of the twelve men making up the personnel of the yearly meeting at one time, and a son-in-law of John Archdale, was disowned. Most likely his "military activity" was participation in the so-called Cary Rebellion. Cary himself had married a step-daughter of Governor Archdale.<sup>3</sup>

During the French and Indian War, and later in the Revolutionary War, the peace testimony of Friends faced crucial testing. When members deliberately took up "carnal weapons," what should local meetings do? Condone, or disown? From the perspective of two centuries later, it is clear that the peace witness of the Society was considered to be of sufficient importance to justify strenuous efforts to maintain it. Obviously, this peace witness would have been greatly weakened, or entirely nullified, if it had not been consistently upheld.<sup>4</sup>

Before Friends had been in North Carolina very long, the institution of human slavery became a major moral issue. Through a long process of soul-searching, the conclusion was reached that any participation in the slave traffic should be made a disciplinary offense. North Carolina Yearly Meeting (along with others) took this action in the early 1770s, so that by 1776 the position of the Quakers relative to slave-holding, or any kind of involvement in the system (buying, selling or trading) was unmistakably clear. As one would expect, a few individuals here and there continued to violate this standard. In order for the Society of Friends to be clear of trafficking in human lives, and therefore in position to urge other people to free their slaves, some action had to be taken with reference to members who refused to comply. When all efforts to reason with such individuals had failed, disownment followed. No great number of disownments on this basis was involved, however, for comparatively few Friends ever owned slaves. As was the case with military involvement, the Quaker witness against the evil of human slavery would have been nullified if they themselves had continued to be involved.

For about two centuries, birthright membership caused many difficult situations to arise. Many individuals who had been born in Quaker homes drifted entirely away from the Society of Friends, and away from any adherence to its moral and religious precepts. Some meetings may not have exercised all possible efforts to reclaim such persons. At any rate, there were many occasions when disownment was a sad but necessary action. Continued membership would have been of negative value, both to the individual and to the meeting.

Most disownments were for drunkenness, dishonesty, fighting, marrying out of meeting, sexual misconduct, and departure from plain living. In the mid-1800s, however, one provision was clearly doctrinal in nature. The North Carolina Discipline stated:

If any in membership with us shall . . . deny the Divinity of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, or the immediate revelation of the Holy Spirit, or the authenticity of the Scriptures . . . the Monthly Meeting to which they belong, having extended care for the benefit of such individuals without effect, should disown them.<sup>5</sup>

Disownments for “marrying out of meeting” reached undue and extremely sad proportions during the period when North Carolina Friends found themselves becoming a minority in their own communities. They felt threatened by this “invasion” of non-Friends. As they saw the Quaker influence waning and more of their young people marrying outside the membership, they resorted to harsh

measures. The Discipline of 1838 (p. 20) made the action of *attending* a “disorderly” marriage a disciplinary offense! Cupid was not allowed to jump the Quaker matrimonial fence — nor to come anywhere near it. Many Friends, along with strict adherents to some other religious groups of that time, assumed that Paul’s admonition to the Corinthian Christians to avoid being “unequally yoked together with unbelievers” should be construed quite literally.

In all fairness it should be said that not all Friends everywhere were stern and unforgiving. For example, it is reported that when Nathan Coffin of New Garden married out of meeting in 1860 he was “dealt with,” but the meeting decided to retain him in membership “in the hope that he would improve.”<sup>6</sup>

Just how would a young man respond when he was being dealt with for marrying a non-Friend? He could not quite say that he was sorry, nor that he “condemned his action” — especially if his bride were listening! In the Springfield Meeting an interesting action occurred when a young man “made satisfaction” by promising not to do it again!

Fortunately, Friends realized that prevention is better than cure, that *early* advice and counsel is better than allowing unwise courtships to proceed too far without proper admonition. The Advices contained in the Discipline of 1823 suggest that “early care be taken to advise, and deal with, such as appear to be inclined to marry contrary to discipline . . .”<sup>7</sup>

Statistical verification cannot be given, but it seems that North Carolina Friends did not carry the practice of disownment to the extremes which occurred in other parts of the country. A history of the Hopewell Meeting, Virginia, contains thirty-two pages of the names of people disowned.

At one of the older meetings in the Piedmont, a young couple was about to be disowned for immoral conduct, according to a story by the late Edgar Murrow. The women’s meeting had favored disownment, and the men’s meeting was about to do the same. At this time a venerable patriarch more than ninety years of age arose to his feet by means of holding to the bench in front of him. In a quavering voice he said, “I am opposed to disowning them. Who knows when any one of *us* might be caught in a similar situation?” Disownment proceedings were dropped.

On a more serious note, in small isolated communities the range of available choices for marriage were extremely limited, for nearly all the members were relatives. All too often cousins intermarried. In recognition of this problem, the Discipline of 1854 (and also earlier editions)



stated that no one should marry a first cousin: "It is the conclusion of the yearly meeting, that no marriages between any so near as first cousins . . . shall be permitted among us . . ." Occasionally, concerned parents moved to distant Quaker communities where their children could meet and marry non-relatives. For example, the Chawner family, descendants of early members of the Suttons Creek Meeting in Pasquotank County, sold their home and moved away to a new neighborhood.<sup>8</sup> Just how many other families did this would be difficult to ascertain.

Tradition has it that one young man (somewhere) was retained in membership when he explained to the committee that he married a non-Friend because every girl in the meeting had refused him. There was nothing else for him to do!<sup>9</sup>

At the 1806 sessions of yearly meeting held at Little River, Friends from the New Garden Quarterly Meeting introduced a question about birthright membership for illegitimate children. In retrospect, this does not appear to have been necessary, for according to disciplinary provisions, such parents would have been disowned already. At any rate, the decision was as follows: "This meeting is of Opinion that no Illegitimate child should be considered as having a birthright in our Society."<sup>10</sup>

Prior to the Civil War, Friends were required to "keep themselves to moderation and plainness in gesture, speech, apparel, and furniture of houses . . ."<sup>11</sup> One wonders just how this was to be carried out. Were elders supposed to go from home to home and examine the furniture, and to pass judgment upon its acceptability? Where could a line be drawn? And as to *gesture*, the meaning is not clear. An archaic use of the word meant a proud and haughty bearing. Perhaps this was intended, rather than specific motions such as a public speaker might use when trying to emphasize a point.

For most of the nineteenth century, the frequenting of taverns and the imbibing of "spiritous liquors" was a disownable offense. The use of tobacco, although advised against, was not listed as a basis for disownment.

The 1823 Discipline made non-attendance at meetings for worship a cause for disownment.<sup>12</sup> This was continued until 1869, when the Discipline merely exhorted Friends to "be faithful." In the same edition, the observance of special days (Christmas, Easter, etc.) was omitted from the list of disownable offenses.

For a long time Friends expressed great concern over the problem of *drowsiness* in meetings for worship. As late as 1876 it was said that "The appearance of a drowsy spirit in our religious meetings is offen-

sive." Friends were admonished to "labor earnestly for the removal of this weakness from among us." Actual disownment was not prescribed, however.<sup>13</sup>

Most of the nineteenth century was a difficult time for North Carolina Friends. Local meetings were being critically weakened by westward migrations. Pressures to conform to the customs of "the world's people" were increasing. As revealed in the Advices issued and the Disciplines compiled during the first half of the century, most Friends felt that increased strictness in adhering to the "ancient testimonies" was needed. The Disciplines issued in 1823 and in 1854 are stern and forbidding in tone. Comparatively little is said about love and charitableness, or outreach and service, but the ominous word "disowned" is used at least eighteen times! There was a strong emphasis upon *rules*. A sort of authoritarianism replaced the individual religious freedom which had characterized the early Quaker movement. North Carolina Friends were experiencing dark days; the future was anything but promising.

As indicated earlier, the publication of controversial or inflammatory material which had not been submitted to the Meeting for Sufferings for approval had been a disciplinary offense for a long time. During the 1850s and in the years preceding, this precautionary measure was carried to its extreme conclusion: a Quaker *Index Expurgatorius*, somewhat similar to that of the Roman Catholic Church. In 1855 a committee consisting of Samuel and James Newby, Thomas Nicholson, John and Phineas Nixon, Josiah Bundy and Joseph Robinson was appointed "to peruse all such Books and Writings as shall be offered them." This action tended to restrict individual freedom and to narrow the limits of thought — "to make a sect out of the Society."<sup>14</sup> To what extent this committee exercised its function of compiling a list of books to be banned from Quaker homes and libraries is not known. The point to be made here is that Friends of that period were trying to build protective walls around themselves in order that they might remain a "peculiar people," separate and apart from the world about them.

Many weary years passed before any great measures of charitableness appeared in the matter of disownments. No precise dates can be given, for changes came about slowly and graually over a rather long time. To some extent a process of relaxation had begun before the Civil

War. One evidence of a more charitable attitude had to do with whether a young man should pay the military exemption tax. To a surprisingly great extent this was left to the conscience of the individual. As a further evidence, the next edition of the Discipline to be printed (1869) shows still more lenient attitudes. Since disciplinary changes *followed* rather than preceded accepted customs, one may reason that the process of relaxing the overly strict provisions of earlier disciplines had been under way for some time.

The 1876 edition of the Discipline shows continued changes. There is no condoning of immoral conduct, but marrying outside the membership is no longer seen as the occasion for disownment. In the *Uniform Discipline* of 1893 (adopted in 1902) the term "disownment" is used only once in a general sense. A person is to be disowned only when all efforts at reclaiming him have failed, and when his conduct is such as to bring reproach upon the Church.

Just how great were the unnecessary losses sustained through disownments during the previous two centuries? No one can do more than estimate the number of people who might have become valuable members of the Society of Friends had it not been for harsh disownment procedures. Probably some of these estimates have been greatly exaggerated. Harry Emerson Fosdick quotes Rufus Jones as saying: "We can hardly imagine that state of mind that would lead a Monthly Meeting to disown a high-minded Friend because he owned a piano."<sup>15</sup>

The reaction of various individuals to disownment probably varied widely, according to circumstances. Very few persons left written accounts of their experiences in being "turned out of meeting." Perhaps most people were fully aware of their transgressions, and fully expected the local meeting to take the prescribed course of action. Also, it is reasonable to suppose that some individuals were hurt and offended, and felt that there was a lack of love and understanding on the part of the meeting. Most likely such persons were permanently alienated from the church — persons who might have been reclaimed with sufficient measures of compassionate understanding. Presumably some individuals developed a persecution complex in order to justify their misconduct.

Some members were very much shaken by disownment proceedings, and in a spirit of contrite humility asked to be reinstated in the membership. One outstanding instance of this kind appears in an early "Book of Memorials," now in the Friends Historical Collection. It seems that this man, who later became an outstanding minister, was a birthright member with little interest in the Society of Friends.



When he married contrary to discipline, he indicated that he had "not the least prospect of ever conforming" to Quaker practices. A little later, when a minute of disownment was presented to him, he was very much shaken and suddenly "felt like a poor outcast." The following statement from his Memorial is quoted:

He put by all business for the remainder of the day and walked alone in a forlorn state of mind, and as he afterward expressed, he never enjoyed a moment of satisfaction until he was again received into membership.

In the twentieth century disownments have become rare, even for serious offenses. Some inevitable questions arise. Is the problem of disownment solved merely by retaining the names of people who have long ago disowned the meeting? Is some good purpose served by retaining people whose lives bring reproach on the Church? On the other hand, should a person be disowned just when he is most in need of spiritual help? In what ways can membership in a Friends meeting be made more meaningful, so that it shall be considered a high spiritual privilege? These questions are merely raised, not answered.

## *Problems of Leadership*

The Society of Friends has experienced continuing problems of leadership throughout the past three centuries. At all times there have been capable, dedicated leaders, but never enough to fill the needs. Several factors have contributed to this overall situation.

The early Quaker movement was fortunate in that it had a few well-trained outstanding scholars, such as William Penn and Robert Barclay, who were able to contribute to the Quaker movement in much the same way as did Saint Paul to the first-century Christian Church. They could comprehend the issues of the day in the light of past religious history. Their scholarship and breadth of vision was a safeguard against the narrowness which might have affected the movement without them.

Unfortunately, Quakers and other Dissenters were excluded from the universities of England for a long time.<sup>1</sup> When older university-trained leaders died, there were no replacements. The movement began to suffer accordingly, as will any movement, religious or otherwise, when well-qualified leaders are not forthcoming.

Schools for Quaker children in England were provided, but these were limited mostly to the elementary level. Friends were not in position to establish institutions of higher learning, and during the prolonged period of quietism they were not especially inclined to do so.

The decline of the Quaker movement among second-generation Friends has been attributed to lost zeal and enthusiasm, but this was not the whole story. Elbert Russell has said:

The members of a religious democracy, such as the Society of Friends, needed more religious training, not less, than those of other bodies having a professional ministry or specialized leadership. With every member a priest and preacher, all needed to be informed as to the history of Christian ideas and institutions, the range of Christian experience, and the all-too-common danger that besets religious people — the danger that love be lost in theological contention . . .<sup>2</sup>

Stephen B. Weeks listed 166 Quaker communities in the Colonial South.<sup>3</sup> Of these, only forty-two are now surviving as Friends Meetings. What happened to the other three-fourths of them? Migration accounted for most of the casualties, but inadequate local leadership such as is essential for the growth of a strong meeting may have caused many of these small groups to wither away and die.

The term "leadership" as used at this point means people of sufficient native ability and dedication to form the nucleus of a meeting — members who are stable and dependable. Such individuals have sometimes been called the backbone of the meeting. However they may be described, every meeting everywhere must have this steadfast, dependable element if it is to survive and grow.

Many of the Quaker groups listed by Weeks consisted of just a few families somewhere in the back country, isolated and alone. The yearly meeting was not structured so as to extend care and nurture to these small meetings. Traveling ministers came occasionally, but these rare visits were insufficient to meet continuous needs where local leadership was inadequate.

For two centuries or more the Society of Friends failed in some measure to fulfill the great *teaching* mission of the Church efficiently. Becoming a Quaker by birthright or by conviction did not automatically give the individual a comprehensive knowledge and understanding of the Scriptures, nor of the essential doctrines and testimonies as held by Friends. Furthermore, many people were not easily able to enter meaningfully into prolonged periods of silent worship without instruction. Even in recent years, Douglas Steere has said, "there are too many in our midst . . . who never come into focus unless someone by vocal ministry has arrested their inner wanderings." Steere also said, "We have been guilty of gross neglect in helping new members and attenders to learn how to use our corporate exercise of waiting on God in the silence."<sup>4</sup>

In colonial years, and for a long time thereafter, there were no resident ministers in many communities who were able to "feed the sheep" in an adequate manner. Surrounding pioneer settlers expected — and probably needed — strong evangelistic preaching. Many of them did not fully understand or appreciate Quaker worship, and thought it a bit empty. And indeed there may have been places where the silence was dull and flat, where a radiant Christian faith was not in evidence. At any rate, convictions did not occur in great numbers. Growth was often limited to birthright members — and many of these strayed away. During the quietistic period Friends were not effective evangelists. Efforts to refrain from proselytizing often resulted in



silencing a much needed witness.

The crying need in pioneer days was for a capable, caring, energetic, shepherding ministry — a ministry which could not only speak to the needs of the people in services of worship, but which could also exercise solicitous care, and administrative leadership, as needed. A few early meetings did survive and grow, but 42 out of 166 beginnings is not a good proportion.

The devastation of the Revolutionary War and the Civil War was such that for a very long time the primary consideration of Friends had to be *survival*. The development of educational institutions had to wait. Small wonder that Nereus Mendenhall once said that he knew of only a few ministers in the whole yearly meeting who could expound the doctrines of the Society of Friends in an adequate manner.

To the credit of early North Carolina Friends, it should be stated that they did establish elementary schools and high schools as rapidly as adverse conditions permitted. In the meantime, the lack of adequately trained leadership hampered growth and development. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that a religion of the laity can flourish only when the laity possesses adequate intellectual capacity — as well as spiritual dedication. When either is absent the movement suffers. The North Carolina Quaker experience illustrates this fact.<sup>5</sup>

One specific incident may serve as an example. Many years ago a traveling minister visited a community where distressing conditions existed. He commented: "There were no Friends with education enough to transact the business . . ." As a happy ending to this one situation, a woman minister (Lucy Vestal) in a nearby community extended loving care of the highest order through many successive years, until some degree of local leadership was developed. A thriving Friends meeting exists there today. Without her help the meeting would have died, in all probability.

Historically, Friends have declared that God alone can raise up leaders and ministers. In doing so they seem to have overlooked the second half of this truth, namely that in all phases of the work of the Church members are called to be *co-workers* with God. The observation of George Fox that "Oxford and Cambridge do not make ministers" was construed to mean that any effort relative to discovering and nurturing leadership was "creaturely activity," and an obstruction to the free operation of the Holy Spirit in raising up leaders. A statement in the First Epistle of John, "you need not that any man teach you," was often taken out of context by quietistic Friends, and made to negate

the many positive commands in the New Testament to "Teach"! The idealistic concept that the Bible would be sufficiently read and taught at home did not prove to be true in average homes. Just how great was the long term loss to the Society of Friends arising from this neglect of the Bible and the great *teaching commission* of the New Testament, no one can say.

This situation remained much the same in the nineteenth century when Stanley Pumphrey visited among North Carolina Friends. He wrote:

The fields are white unto harvest, and the laborers are few, and the prayer has often arisen under the sense of the need of our own people, of their neighbors, and especially of the coloured race: Lord, send more laborers and raise up efficient helpers among the Carolinians themselves.<sup>6</sup>

More specifically, when Pumphrey visited the Hunting Creek community, he wrote: "Here again, a resident, pastoral, teaching ministry is a great want [need]." His account of his visit to Westfield is also enlightening:

I spoke of the beautiful kindness of Jesus . . . As I spoke of these things, good old Allen Tomlinson's eyes filled with tears . . . "We should like thee to tell us of these things again, they are so new to us."<sup>7</sup>

During the reconstruction period after the Civil War when conditions were at a low ebb indeed, when able leadership was most desperately needed, Allen Jay observed: "There were only a few active members of the Yearly Meeting who were acknowledged [recorded] ministers." He mentioned Isham Cox, who had become quite elderly; William Nicholson of Eastern Carolina, and also Ellen Nicholson "who was quite frail"; Daniel and Seth Barker, "both growing old"; and Albert Peele, "a rising young minister." Besides these there were "a few others who were old and feeble and rarely went away from home."<sup>8</sup>

Quoting from Stanley Pumphrey again:

Some of the intelligent young people are losing heart and giving up attending meetings, because there is no ministry, or very little, and that only at the fag end of long sittings, and they feel that they must go elsewhere to find food for their souls. A magnificent opportunity has been given to Friends since the war in North Carolina and only to a limited extent have we made use of it.<sup>9</sup>

Unfortunately, the concept of immediate inspiration and revelation came to be construed by Friends of the quietistic period as a spur-

of-the-moment occurrence only. This in turn was held to mean that everyone should come to meeting with minds and hearts empty and blank, lest the free operation of the Holy Spirit be hindered by "creaturely activity." This part-truth was carried to the point where Divine inspiration was limited in effect to one hour of the week! Such man-made restrictions were perhaps more detrimental than the hindrances they sought to avoid.

The testimony against prepared sermons was carried to the point where it was unacceptable for a speaker to begin by saying, "I have been thinking . . ." One was not supposed to *think* in meeting, according to some individuals. In a letter written more than a hundred years ago, this idea was expressed quaintly, but quite clearly: "It has got so that preachers have to get up and have their books and read some, and then try to preach from that. I think that if the Almighty has that near quit helping them they have a very good excuse to quit preaching."<sup>10</sup> The *Journal* of William Williams for 1804 puts it in a more polished manner:

Fifth-day the 11th. At Holly Spring Meeting — silent except for a few words at the close of the meeting, informing them that I had nothing given to me to deliver to them, and that I did not leave home and all my near and dear connexions, to communicate anything in my own will. Oh, that all gospel ministers would be careful of feeding the people with pre-meditated matter.<sup>11</sup>

In more recent times many ministers tried hard to conceal the fact that they had spent time in preparation for speaking. Furthermore, when a minister used notes of any kind, this was considered to be a sure indication that he was speaking from the head, not the heart.

The hesitation of Friends relative to prepared sermons was revealed in the title of a book printed in 1813: *Eleven Discourses Delivered Extempore at Several Meeting-Houses of the People Called Quakers*, by Samuel Fothergill. These carefully organized, polished discourses based on an appropriate Scripture texts sound very much like prepared sermons! This terminology was not acceptable in that day, however, and these discourses were said to have been extempore.

The opposite of depending entirely upon immediate inspiration might be illustrated by the young minister who began his discourse by saying, "While I was trying to put this message together last week . . ." The people may have wondered whether there was really any word from the Lord. Obviously a put-together sermon can be a dismal failure; so also can spontaneous ramblings, as revealed in a confession by Edward Hicks: "I spoke to the company at great length, but I fear



to little purpose . . . a poor heterogeneous mixture of undigested matter, somewhat a half-baked cake . . .”

In a preceding chapter emphasis was placed upon Quaker leadership in establishing schools and in promoting education generally. The other side of the picture is that problems of anti-intellectualism have afflicted the Society of Friends throughout the past three centuries in greater or less measure. In North Carolina, as in other areas, opposition to educational preparation for ministers has been tragically detrimental. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, poorly informed individuals created quite a disturbance, particularly in rural meetings, by condemning Biblical higher criticism, which they said was undermining the faith. The unfortunate word criticism was a sort of red flag, a danger signal to people who had little comprehension of literary criticism from a scholarly standpoint. Actually the term simply means “the study of the Bible, having as its object the establishment of authorship and date, and a firm basis for exegesis.”

The subject came up for consideration in the Third Conference of Friends in America in 1897, and was referred to the Business Committee, which gave a report apparently designed to allay undue fears:

In the activities of modern thought new questions are constantly presented to the Church: among these are those growing out of what is called “Higher Criticism” . . . We approve of true scholarship that is consecrated to the service of God . . . and we rejoice in all the investigations that aid in the true understanding of the Word: but we wish to condemn the frequent attempts to attack the integrity of the Scriptures . . . which work very serious injury to those who are misled by them.<sup>12</sup>

Hopefully, that day of gross misunderstanding and conflict has passed, but there still lingers some lack of appreciation for analytical Bible study, and the value of adequate education for creative leadership. One great danger which lurks within the Society of Friends is that it may be held back by the least progressive members, rather than being led forward by the most enlightened ones. George Adam Smith once said, “God’s causes are never destroyed by being blown up, but by being sat upon.”<sup>13</sup>

During the last half of the nineteenth century, Friends became increasingly aware of deficiencies in the ministry, addressing themselves to some of these difficulties through Minutes of Advice to the local meetings. They were troubled by the tendency of ministers to fall into the habit of using a sing-song manner of speaking, which they called a “tone.” From time to time the Yearly Meeting on Ministry and

Oversight expressed concern about this problem. For example, this admonition was given in 1876:

Ministers should avoid tones, gestures, and all unbecoming manners which tend to mar the work they are engaged in . . . Dear Friends, bear in mind that these things are unnatural and injure your service; study to show yourselves approved unto God . . .<sup>14</sup>

The following year, a more positive note was sounded:

. . . let all endeavor to deliver their message in a natural, pleasant and forcible manner so as to commend the subject to the hearers.<sup>15</sup>

Amidst the occasional emotional extremes which accompanied the revival movement, this Advice was given:

Ministers were entreated that while in the exercise of the ministry to avoid creating anything like a nervous excitement over the congregation by raising the tone of voice too high or becoming unduly excited themselves . . . "When ye pray use not vain repetitions as the heathen do," and always avoid imitating others in address or delivery.<sup>16</sup>

The Conference on Unity which met in Richmond, Indiana in 1887, addressed itself to the problem of the need for more adequate leadership in local meetings across the country. The following statement relating to the ministry was recorded:

A gift in the ministry is not conferred by any educational process, but all the powers of the ministers should be cultivated to their fullest extent . . . He calls the ignorant into his service, but He does not want them to continue in that condition.<sup>17</sup>

A concern from the New Garden Quarterly Meeting on Ministry and Oversight came to the yearly meeting in 1896:

The lack of ministry in many of our Meetings is a source of deep regret and sorrow to us . . . And where any member is believed to have a gift for service, meetings are exhorted to encourage such gift in every way possible . . . and assist to opportunities of enlarging and developing such gifts, and if need be, way be made for them to attend school that they may be better fitted for the Master's service.<sup>18</sup>

In response to this concern a Committee on the Development of the Ministry was appointed. The reports of this committee in following years indicate that they found no easy solution to the problem. Bible institutes and conferences were suggested. One fact emerges clearly: Friends were beginning to be aware of their own responsibility in discovering and nurturing gifts in the ministry.

The Minute of Advice for 1908 contains this statement: "It has

been suggested that young ministers be associated in a kind of apprenticeship with older ministers that there may be opportunity for their development."<sup>19</sup>

Mere speculation is not always productive, but it is only natural to wonder how different the progress of Friends might have been if New Garden Boarding School had not been established in 1837. Through the years following, it produced great numbers of desperately needed teachers and leaders for local meetings. As stated earlier, the original purpose of the school was to train teachers for the many Quaker schools which were under the care of local monthly meetings. Allen Jay's evaluation of the success of this undertaking was as follows:

In the building up of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, which I regard as one of the greatest works of the Society of Friends in the last hundred years, there is a lesson which I wish to impress upon the workers in other yearly meetings. Here were . . . teachers, all Christians, sent out into the various meetings, requested to open their schools with devotional exercises every morning, encouraged to organize Bible schools and take the superintendency of the same . . . they were impressed with the importance of being faithful in their meeting for worship in vocal prayer and testimony, and above all, to visit the sick, hunt up the poor children and get them into school and under religious instruction . . . With the blessing of the Lord upon the labor of these dear teachers, the monthly meetings began to receive members, a family at a time, sometimes two or three families. Sometimes the children led their parents into the church . . .<sup>20</sup>

Here one sees real pastoral leadership, although no one then would have thought of using that term in describing it. The primary emphasis of New Garden Boarding School was upon teacher-training, but the need for better education for ministers was none the less acute. At that time, Friends had not yet arrived at an open admission that ministers needed higher education as much as teachers, or even more so. Fortunately, men such as Nereus Mendenhall, and later Lyndon Hobbs, contributed much to directing these educational processes in the right direction.

For three centuries the Society of Friends existed in the United States without anything which could be called a School of Religion, or Divinity School. A School of Religion was established at Earlham College, Indiana, in 1960. This center of learning is increasingly providing that which was so much needed: capable, well-trained leaders in the Society of Friends. Both pastoral and non-pastoral Friends are



benefitting from this service, as are many non-Friends as well.

Educational standards as a basis for recording ministers have changed dramatically during the past few decades. An accredited bachelor's degree, plus some study in specific Quaker history and doctrine, is now required. This does not mean, however, that every one has an adequate comprehension of basic Quaker testimonies, nor even an acceptance of them. As a consequence, some of the eighty-eight meetings (including preparative meetings) making up the yearly meeting exhibit very little indication that they are Quaker meetings.

Problems of leadership exist, not only in North Carolina, but elsewhere as well. In a two-year study of the Friends United Meeting, the late David Henley concluded, "Adequate leadership is the central problem of the Society of Friends in America."

## *Effects of Slavery in the South*

The institution of human slavery has been in the world as far in the past as any records exist. In colonial America slavery was taken for granted. Early Carolina Quakers lived in a culture where it was an integral part of an accepted way of life. Some Southern Quakers in colonial times owned slaves, along with other plantation owners around them. The religious conviction that slavery was morally wrong developed quite slowly. An accepted custom which has been in existence since the beginning of recorded history, especially when it is embedded in the economic system, does not go away easily.

One delaying factor was that the Bible does not specifically forbid slavery, either in the Old or New Testament. To be sure, the underlying principles of the dignity, equality and freedom of all people exist in the New Testament; but with economic self-interest involved, people could always refer to Old Testament customs and practices to justify holding slaves. The focus of attention for first-generation Quakers in England was two-fold: their newly-found religious experience, and the problem of surviving in the midst of severe persecution. Slavery was not an immediate and pressing problem with which they had to deal.

As the decades passed, persecutions became less severe, and more attention could be turned to other concerns. Fortunately, the Quaker belief in continuing revelation enabled them to see that the practice of slavery in Bible times did not prevent the coming of further light as promised in the words of Jesus: "The Spirit . . . will guide you into all truth." In the living silence of their meetings for worship, the Holy Spirit had the needed opportunity to reveal Truth to open, receptive hearts. John Woolman, for example, seems to have come clear on the slavery issue as he reasoned about it in the immediate presence of God. This was in accordance with the gracious invitation voiced by Isaiah: "Come let us reason together, saith the Lord." The Quaker conscience gradually became sensitive, *aware*. The response of early Friends to these revelations of the Holy Spirit was similar to that of the first

century Church in coming to the conclusions that Gentile Christians should be received into the fellowship, and that Paul and Barnabas should be sent forth to carry the Gospel to them.

With reference to continuing revelation, Nereus Mendenhall expressed his concept in this manner:

This guiding is not completed this day or next, this year or next, this century or next, but goes on *progressively*, by and through the Spirit, as it has guided, is now guiding and will guide the individual and the human race . . .<sup>1</sup>

In the early part of the nineteenth century the old concept of the innate superiority of the white race was commonly accepted by the general population, even by church leaders. A man who was later to become governor wrote to his brother-in-law:

It is annoying to me that the Quakers . . . should believe . . . that the African race is capable of attaining to a respectable degree of civilization . . . I feel toward the Negro nothing but kindness and pity; but I know from observation . . . that the African left to his own self-control, is so indolent and improvident, that he will not — indeed I think that he cannot be made into a good citizen . . .<sup>2</sup>

It is outside the realm of this study to describe in detail the treatment of slaves by their masters, which varied from one plantation to another, but official records and newspaper advertisements of the period are most revealing. Punishment for Blacks accused of crimes was swift and severe, including hobbling, branding, whipping, castrating, cropping of ears, nailing ears to posts, and so on. As to the subhuman level in which Blacks were held, “breeding wenches” were advertised for sale.<sup>3</sup>

Slowly, but inevitably, Quakers in both England and America began to perceive that the spirit of the New Testament made the subjugation of other human beings morally wrong, especially in the light of the teachings of Jesus as expressed in the Golden Rule. Total honesty led them to the conclusion that the Golden Rule is not limited by race or national origin. Friends rejected the commonly held idea that Noah’s drunken curse on Ham justified slaveholding thousands of years later. They could not accept the doctrine that a God of love and justice would condemn one segment of the human family to a status of inferiority and servitude through no fault of their own.

Elmina Wilson wrote, “One of our neighbors, a rich old slave holder died, and all his property sold — his negroes with his other ‘live stock,’ farm implements and household goods.” The writer, a small girl at that time, was deeply distressed by the cruelty of the slavery



system. A similar story coming from Cecil Haworth is to the effect that his father's sister, then a small girl, became quite ill, and realized that she could not live. One last request was that she not be buried in a dress of cotton which had been produced by slave labor. Obviously she had been learning about John Woolman and his anti-slavery conscience.

The first known public protest against slavery was in the Germantown Meeting in Pennsylvania in 1688. Their protest began as follows:

These are the reasons why we are against the traffic of men-body, as followeth: Is there any that would be done or handled in this manner? viz., to be sold or made a slave for all the time of his life?

Obviously, the Golden Rule was basic in their thinking.

In North Carolina, few of the Quaker settlers in the Piedmont owned slaves. Consequently they pushed harder for the abolition of slavery than their eastern neighbors, many of whom were plantation owners. Fortunately, the fellowship which held the two groups together was greater than the problems which separated them. They remained united.<sup>4</sup>

John Woolman while traveling in the South was much grieved by what he saw. He wanted to bear a vigorous testimony against this evil, but never resorted to harsh condemnation. When being entertained in homes where the food had been grown and served by slave labor, he quietly declined to eat — much to the embarrassment of his hosts. This quiet, gentle testimony was quite effective.

It is important to note that while Quaker opposition to slavery was based primarily upon the cruel injustice which was inflicted upon the Negroes, Friends were clearly aware of what the institution was doing to the white population. Outside visitors coming into the area made some astute observations. For example:

We were very clear in our judgment, that Friends having kept such numbers of slaves, did much contribute to the ruin of their posterity: for the poor negroes were put to do nearly all the work, while the children of Friends were brought up in "pride, fullness of bread, and abundance of idleness." (Eze. XVI:49), riding about for pleasure, living at ease and in fulness; this was productive of many evils, and opened wide doors for unprofitable and pernicious intimacies with hurtful company, until, alas, the youth in some particular places are almost all departed from the way of truth, and almost total desolation reigns in some places in this land . . . Oh! the mischief of idleness and oppression!<sup>5</sup>

John Woolman put great emphasis upon the dangers to the white family coming from slave ownership, especially upon young persons living in idleness, with the concept that they had total dominance over the "slave beings" around them. David Ferris of Wilmington (Delaware) expressed much the same concept in 1776: "I look upon Slave keepers to be in much greater Bondage than their poor Negroes are; and in a far worse condition."<sup>6</sup>

In 1776, the year in which the Founding Fathers were declaring that "all men are created equal," the Quakers were a century ahead of their times in clearing themselves of any involvement in the institution of human slavery. It is to the credit of North Carolina Friends that they kept abreast of others, even though in a Southern state. Slave-owning or trading was made a disownable offense in 1776.<sup>7</sup>

For almost a century Queries and Advices kept Friends aware of their religious conviction relative to holding other human beings in bondage. The Discipline of 1854, for example, puts it this way:

As a religious society, we have found it to be our indispensable duty to declare to the world our belief of the repugnancy of slavery to the Christian religion . . . If any in membership with us shall buy any slaves . . . or hire any slaves . . . it is the judgment of the Yearly Meeting that in so doing, they promote the unrighteous traffic . . . and if they cannot be prevailed upon to desist, monthly meetings are at liberty to disown them.<sup>8</sup>

Query Six begins thus: "Are Friends clear of purchasing, disposing of, or holding mankind as slaves . . .?"

North Carolina Friends were not able to dispense with the problems of slavery quickly and easily. Extremely difficult and complex situations arose. In many instances slaves had been inherited. Setting them free would have meant possible recapture by slave traders who would have sold them to plantation owners in the deep South. Often the most humane action was to allow them to remain in nominal bondage, but in a state of actual freedom. In one court decision the judge observed: "When Quakers hold slaves nothing but the name is wanting to render it at once a complete emancipation."<sup>9</sup>

In 1808 the yearly meeting appointed a committee of seven to have under its care all the "people of color" who were suffering extreme hardships. This committee worked out a system by which ownership of Blacks could be transferred to authorized agents who could receive them. In this case it was the Society of Friends — North Carolina Yearly Meeting. This arrangement was carefully checked out by the best legal authorities in the state before any action was taken.<sup>10</sup>

Of course the purpose of receiving Blacks into this protective custody was to insure their safety and well-being. The irony of it all was that Friends thus became legal participants in a system which they abhorred! This caused great discomfort, but the practice continued until the Civil War.<sup>11</sup> The trustees of the yearly meeting exercised some care and oversight, but in effect these slaves were actually free.<sup>12</sup>

Beginning with a very small number, the Blacks thus held "in trust of the Society of Friends in North Carolina" soon reached four hundred, according to an early count. By 1824 the number had risen to more than seven hundred. This was becoming an intolerable situation and strenuous efforts were made to transfer these Blacks to free territory. This was accomplished in various ways. Friends migrating to free territory were asked to accept "ownership" of several Negroes whom they would agree to set free upon arrival in Ohio or Indiana. At other times Friends who had come back to visit in North Carolina were asked to take Negroes with them upon returning to their homes in the West. No accurate number of the Blacks thus liberated is known, but Algie I. Newlin has suggested two thousand as a reasonable estimate. As the decades passed, the yearly meeting was able to reduce the number to such an extent that the Minutes of 1848 state: "There are at this time a few persons to whom our Society retains legal right — perhaps not more than 12 or 15 in all."<sup>13</sup> There was some fluctuation in number, for the Meeting for sufferings in 1856 reported:

The Trustees in the Eastern Quarter having charge of the people of color report that there are 18 persons of that class remaining three of whom are aged and infirm and are chargeable to the meeting. The Trustees are therefore directed to have them properly provided for and render an acc't of the expense thereof to the meeting.<sup>14</sup>

George and Delphina Mendenhall of the Jamestown-Deep River community began the process of liberating their slaves (which he had inherited) in a most efficient and humane way. Group by group, as the slaves could be made ready without disrupting family units, they personally took them to Ohio and stayed with them there until each one was secure in some sustaining occupation. Obviously, very few slave-owners were in position to follow this method, but it is cited as being the ideal way of avoiding recapture, and also enabling the newly liberated individuals to become self-supporting in a new situation.<sup>15</sup>

Very few local meetings ever held title to slaves, but there were some exceptions. The Bush River Meeting in South Carolina appointed Samuel Gaunt to "serve as trustee for the negroes set free by Thomas Wadsworth, deceased . . ."<sup>16</sup> Two slaves were bequeathed to



the Rich Square Meeting in 1805 by Catharine White who was moving to New England. For many years following "these slaves under the care of the Meeting presented many problems."<sup>17</sup>

Among the many difficulties encountered in setting slaves free was the fact that as the years passed, people in other states began to become unwilling to receive an ever-increasing number of liberated Blacks, many of whom had no skills except working in cotton fields, and were not in position to become immediately self-sufficient and self-supporting.<sup>18</sup>

Southern Friends were by no means finished with the problem of slavery when they had succeeded in freeing themselves from involvement in slave ownership. The institution remained, and Friends continued to be a part of the Southern culture. A great forward step had been taken, but a further question confronted Friends: What was their continuing responsibility in removing the blight of slavery from the nation? Manumission societies were formed in Tennessee and central North Carolina which struggled with the problem for two decades.

It seems that Charles Osborn, a Quaker minister of North Carolina origin, first organized a Manumission Society in Tennessee in 1814. By 1816 when the first general meeting was held in North Carolina, there already were four branches in the state: Centre, Caraway, Deep River, and New Garden.<sup>19</sup> Branches, or chapters, increased rapidly, spreading over Guilford, Randolph, Yadkin, Chatham and Orange counties. At a general meeting in 1825, eighty-one delegates reported from twenty-eight branches, probably representing some 1,150 members in the state.<sup>20</sup>

This membership was predominantly Quaker, although there was apparently a deliberate effort to keep the Manumission Society from becoming a Quaker organization. All persons of similar convictions were received — including some slave-owners who were seeking a reasonable method of terminating the institution of slavery in the South. An efficient organization was effected, including a secretary for keeping minutes. Quaker procedure was not used in meetings, nor was Quaker terminology.

Meeting places for the Manumission Society for the first several years were at Centre in April, and Deep River in October. Friends meeting houses were used, but there was never an official connection with North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

As the years passed, controversy developed over the question of the best method of dealing with emancipated slaves. One part of the membership favored colonizing freed Negroes in Africa, and pro-

posed changing the name of the organization to the "Manumission and Colonization Society." Agreement on this issue was never reached. Levi Coffin put it this way: "Many of us were opposed to making colonization a condition of freedom . . . We had no objection to free Negroes going to Africa of their own will, but to compel them to go as a condition of freedom was a movement to which we were conscientiously opposed." The Society began to decline. The last meeting was held at Marlboro in 1834. Those present voted to meet again; but they never did so.<sup>21</sup>

Fortunately the minutes of the Manumission Society are preserved in the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College for persons wishing to delve more deeply into this phase of the North Carolina Quaker experience.

The efforts of slaves to escape from bondage is perhaps as old as the institution itself. At any rate, the problem in America is mentioned in the correspondence of George Washington as early as 1786. During the half century or more preceding the Civil War, unknown numbers of southern slaves undertook to make their way toward free states or Canada. For Carolina Quakers who desired the total freedom of all persons in servitude, the problem of assisting run-away slaves presented great ethical questions. It was generally agreed that Quakers should not encourage slaves to run away; but what should they do when fugitives came to them seeking food, shelter, and assistance? In essence, it was a conflict of human rights versus property rights. A great many Southern Quakers (no precise proportion can be given) came to the conclusion that they could not, in good conscience, turn down human pleas for assistance — often in the dead of night.

Gradually, an unofficial system of cooperative assistance for run-away slaves came into existence. A great many North Carolina Quakers participated in this effort — as individuals. The yearly meeting never did officially endorse this activity. In the decades preceding the Civil War, the Underground Railroad, as it came to be called, became amazingly efficient in spiriting runaway slaves to their destination in free territory. The exact number of slaves who were assisted in their escape will never be known, but the total may have reached far into the thousands.

Levi Coffin, a former North Carolina resident, became known as the "president" of the Underground Railroad. His activities, along with those of his many co-workers, were extremely dangerous, as everyone knew. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 contained this provision:

SEC. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That any person who shall knowingly and willingly . . . aid, abet, or assist such a person so owing service or labor . . . to escape . . . or shall harbor or conceal such fugitive, so as to prevent the discovery and arrest of such person . . . shall . . . be subject to a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, and imprisonment not exceeding six months . . .<sup>22</sup>

According to many existing stories of the Underground Railroad, quite a few Friends (and others) became quite proficient in the art of evasion when being questioned by the men who were pursuing slaves. Some even boasted of their success in misleading pursuers — while managing to tell the truth in some evasive manner. For the Society of Friends as a whole, however, law-breaking did not come easily. A principle of conscientious conviction was at stake. The 1851 Epistle of Advice admonished Friends to maintain their testimony against the evils of slavery, but added: "It is our duty to be a law-abiding people and in no wise improperly to interfere with the relation between master and slave."<sup>23</sup>

Through the years, North Carolina Friends, along with others elsewhere, gave much consideration to the possibility of *gradual* elimination of slavery over a period of time. One proposal was to give a slave his freedom after a stated period of service, or when he reached a given age. Another proposal was that babies should be *born* as free citizens, not as slaves. None of these proposals was successful.

The yearly meeting sent petitions (called Memorials) to the Congress of the United States in 1816, 1823, 1837, 1847 and again in 1849. The question might be raised, To what avail? No one can say precisely, but surely a voice crying in the wilderness is not altogether lost.

To provide local Friends with some measure of insight into the overall situation, a carefully written pamphlet of forty pages was published by the yearly meeting in 1848 which clearly stated the Quaker position, and explained the steps which had been taken during preceding years to arrive at this conclusion.<sup>24</sup> In essence, the pamphlet proceeds upon the basis of the Quaker belief in continuing and increasing revelation, thus explaining why first-generation Friends did not deal with the institution of human slavery immediately.

That all who professed and believed this doctrine should not at once perceive all its leadings is not to be wondered at. To the same individual, the sun of the physical world has various appearances; there are the gray twilight and the hues of saffron before we behold its efulgent beams. It may be obscured by mists or storm clouds, but it is the same sun notwithstanding.<sup>25</sup>



The next paragraph outlines the step by step progress of Friends for more than one hundred years until slaveholding was abolished. Emphasis was placed upon the fact that "our responsibility is according to our means of doing good," and "our guilt is as our light." In the concluding paragraph of the preface to this remarkable tract there is a note of tolerant understanding:

Another lesson taught here is charity — charity for those who still continue to hold slaves. Hasty and harsh condemnation of those who differ from us can seldom fail to prove injurious.<sup>26</sup>

During the first half of the nineteenth century, anti-slavery sentiment began building up across the country, especially in the North and the West. Friends were no longer alone in their opposition to slavery. This was good, but problems arose when the movement became aggressive and violent in some places. This troubled Friends greatly, for they could not be identified with violence, even in trying to promote a good cause. North Carolina Friends turned increasingly to moral persuasion and reason, rather than direct confrontation and attack. Passive resistance and the non-violent approach thus became the accepted form of activity, sometimes to the great annoyance and exasperation of more aggressive elements in the anti-slavery movement.

The more aggressive approach may be seen quite clearly in a series of events which occurred near Cane Creek, Alamance County. A few individual Friends, along with like-minded Methodists, initiated action for establishing an antislavery Wesleyan Methodist Church. In response, the Reverend Adam Crooks from Ohio came to North Carolina in October of 1847 and began organizing a congregation, the first Wesleyan Methodist Church in the South. A small log building was erected during the winter called "Freedom's Hill," located a short distance south of the present-day Sylvan School, about a mile from the Cane Creek Meeting House.

Violent persecution erupted.<sup>27</sup> Slaveholding men of the area fired shots into the building, and dragged Crooks from the pulpit. He was forced to flee the state, and the Wesleyan anti-slavery movement was temporarily disrupted.<sup>28</sup> Some ten years later, in the 1850s, Daniel Worth, a fiery abolitionist from Indiana, came back to North Carolina to take up the abolition cause where Adam Crooks and others had been forced to abandon it.<sup>29</sup> He chastised the Quakers severely for their "passive do-nothing" approach to the evil of slavery. The conflict of Daniel Worth and the Quakers over the abolition question is recounted by Thomas D. Hamm in *The Southern Friend*, autumn issue, 1980.

In summary, North Carolina Friends, along with others in other yearly meetings, took the advanced position that the institution of slavery was morally wrong. They then demonstrated to the world that it was possible for whites to free their slaves and to accept voluntarily the financial losses involved. What they themselves had done, they believed others could do. In this manner, and by this example, they pointed toward a way of dealing successfully with the slavery problem in America. Unfortunately, the country as a whole was not ready to follow this lead. Friends were too few to control the destiny of the nation. Friends did prove, however, that slavery could be eliminated peaceably, and that the War Between the States could have been avoided. This was no small achievement.

## *Friends Migrated Westward*

For more than a century, roughly from 1665 to 1775, there was a continuous migration of Friends into North Carolina, beginning with a few scattered families, reaching a climax during the decades just preceding the Revolutionary War. After a period of time, sometimes greater, sometimes less, many of them moved away again. The greatest single cause of emigration was the institution of human slavery in the South. Addison Coffin was known for his sweeping statements, but obviously he was not far afield when he said, "Why did Friends emigrate from North Carolina? It can be answered with one dark fearful word: SLAVERY!"

This does not mean, however, that no other factors were involved. American Friends have shown a great tendency toward continued movement across the country. Wherever Friends may be living today, all can say, "Our ancestors came from somewhere else!"

As early as 1784 a few Friends moved into Tennessee. (This has been called the genesis of the exodus.) Long before this time, a number of families moved away from the coastal region toward the hill country of the Piedmont where they anticipated less malaria and other health problems.

When the great Northwest Territory was opened in 1787, this posed a challenge to adventurous young people who were fascinated by this vast unexplored land beyond the mountains. Rich soil there was especially attractive to people who had originally settled in sections of North Carolina where the soil was comparatively poor.

Fear of slave uprisings began to permeate the atmosphere in the first half of the nineteenth century, such as had occurred in Haiti and San Domingo, and in southeastern Virginia with the Nat Turner rebellion. Friends did not fear for their own safety, since they no longer owned slaves, but they could not be content in such a situation.

As the years passed, the threat of secession and civil war began to grow. Friends knew that in the event of war they would face military conscription, hardly an inviting prospect. Perhaps more importantly,



Friends saw the slave society as corrupt and corrupting, and they feared its corrosive influence on their way of life, and especially upon their children.

In the years preceding the Civil War, Friends became apprehensive concerning the judgments of Almighty God which they sincerely believed would soon descend upon the nation which held human beings in a state of slavery. When John Woolman visited in the Southern states in 1757, he expressed the conviction that in the future "the consequences will be grievous to posterity." Several times in his writings, Woolman voiced this same warning.<sup>1</sup>

Much earlier, in 1698, Richard Jordan entered this statement in his Journal: "Hath not the universal Father of mankind testified 'with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again'? . . . Oh for thee I tremble, when I see clouds, thick clouds arising over thee and gathering blackness."<sup>2</sup>

In his Second Inaugural Address, Abraham Lincoln put the matter in strong terms. One may not agree with his theology, but at least it expressed his point of view:

Fondly do we hope — fervently do we pray — that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled up by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn by the lash shall be paid by another, drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still must it be said: "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

The scant records which now exist indicate that most Friends considered the question of emigration quite seriously before coming to a final decision. Others apparently moved without seeking the Divine Will. They were affected by a restless, wandering spirit, sometimes called frontier fever. According to Algje Newlin, one family in the Cane Creek area is known to have moved eight times! Zachariah Dicks, who arrived at New Garden as a young man in 1755 moved to the Spring community in 1775; to Centre in 1793; back to Spring in 1798; to Ohio in 1808.

Many of the Friends moving into Tennessee were settling on lands near the Holston River, which Friends called the "Western Waters." Before the Holston Treaty with the Cherokee Indians in 1791, these lands did not lie "within the compass of Peaceable possession." The Cherokees had not been satisfactorily paid for their lands. There was an extended period of difficulty over this problem. Finally, the yearly

meeting issued this statement:

Taking under consideration the matter of Friends settling on Indian's Land Unpurchased, direct that no Friends settle on such land.<sup>4</sup>

Apparently an additional part of the problem was that some Friends were emigrating to Tennessee and undertaking to establish meetings there without proper oversight. In addition to the statement quoted above, this further word was added:

This Meeting do give it as our Sense of Judgment that no Friend do remove and settle out of the Limits of the Monthly Meeting, without first applying to, & having consent of the Monthly & Quarterly Meeting to which bounds the Quarter is to be judge of, and that Friends be careful to attend to the former advice in our Discipline respecting Removals.<sup>5</sup>

A traveling minister, Joshua Evans, visited among Friends in Tennessee in 1797, and his observations were much in accord with the feelings of Carolina Friends. He said that many people had been "too incautious in respect to such hasty removals." Emphasizing his feeling that material motives were too much involved in westward migrations, he wrote, "It seems to me they have in a general way come over the mountains to settle for the sake of this world's treasures . . . A great part of their conversation is about more land, new countries, and the things of the world." His concerns were expressed quite frankly:

I was likewise concerned to caution Friends against a disposition that leads to unsettlement, and to ramble out into remote places . . . suffering their minds to be captivated with the love of a lazy rambling life.<sup>6</sup>

By the time some of these fundamental problems were settled, many Tennessee Friends were thinking in terms of moving again into the newly opened Ohio Valley to the north and west.<sup>7</sup>

In spite of further migrations to the Northwest Territory, the number of Friends on the "Western Waters" of Tennessee had grown to 1,310 by 1880.<sup>8</sup> Lost Creek Quarterly Meeting included nine local meetings; Friendsville Quarterly Meeting, three meetings. Friendsville Academy was established in 1857. Minutes for 1880 show that Friends were operating five schools with 72 teachers and 261 pupils.<sup>9</sup> The sessions of North Carolina Yearly Meeting were held at Friendsville in 1880, the only time they were held outside the state.

Losses to Tennessee were considerable, but on the positive side it should be noted that many Friends having Tennessee ancestry have made great contributions to North Carolina Yearly Meeting. Among

these are Samuel Haworth, born at New Market, Tennessee; Clyde A. Milner, born at Unita, Tennessee, where his parents, Fremont and Ella Milner, were serving as pastors; and Elbert Russell, who was born in Friendsville, Tennessee. Elbert Russell spent the first eight years of his life there before the family moved on to Indiana. Incidentally, Elbert Russell insisted that he was really a native of Indiana, citing the example of the Irishman who insisted that he was a native of Belfast although he was born in Cork: he was "only staying there at the time."<sup>10</sup> Special mention should also be made of the Levering family from Maryville, which has contributed richly to North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

Friends in Tennessee were affected by the same conditions which affected Carolinians: the lure of richer soil beyond the Ohio River, and the increasing problems of slavery. Thomas Beals, one of the first settlers at New Garden, moved to Lost Creek in Tennessee in 1785. Moving on to Ohio later, he became the first Friends minister beyond the Ohio River.

Although slavery was no longer a factor, after 1880 migrations out of Tennessee increased to the extent that the membership in 1897 was only 570. The remaining Friends requested that they be transferred to Wilmington Yearly Meeting. Thus came to an end their official connection with North Carolina Yearly Meeting. Interest in Tennessee Friends continued, however. A number of teachers and pastors have assisted in the work there during the past seventy-five years.<sup>11</sup>

In most instances, Friends leaving North Carolina traveled in small groups, rarely a single family alone. In a very few instances, almost the whole community moved *en masse*, as was the case with the Trent Meeting. Apparently this mass emigration was not undertaken lightly. Bordon Stanton in a letter to Friends in the Wrightsborough Meeting referred to "our strugglings and reasonings concerning our moving . . ."<sup>12</sup> Finally, in 1899 three members journeyed to the "Western Country" to investigate the situation. Based on a favorable report and satisfied that it was the Lord's will, the Trent Meeting, with the permission of Western Quarterly Meeting, turned over its records and left *en masse* for Ohio.<sup>13</sup> Within a year there were enough Friends in that section of Ohio to establish the Concord Meeting.

Perhaps the most dramatic event in this whole period occurred at the Bush River Meeting in South Carolina in 1803 when Zachariah Dicks — like an old Testament prophet — stood up and intoned: "O Bush River! Bush River! How hath thy beauty faded away and



gloomy darkness eclipsed thy day!"<sup>14</sup> He warned the people of impending disaster, and advised them to depart for the Northwest Territory. In the words of Errol Elliott:

The effect was electric. Many of the listeners were by no means unprepared for his warning. They knew well the times in which they were living, and the message of Zachariah Dicks was like a catalyst in a supersaturated atmosphere. Perhaps never since George Fox had the voice of a Quaker minister been so effective.<sup>15</sup>

Friends at Bush River had constructed a well-built meeting house five years before, apparently with the expectation of a long occupancy. There Judge O'Neal said that he often saw as many as five hundred Friends assembled!<sup>16</sup> Conditions changed so rapidly that by the early 1800s the Bush River Meeting was declining rapidly. The written records of the meeting which are preserved in the Friends Historical Collection end with the year 1830. For five of the twelve months of that year, no business items were considered — only opening and concluding minutes, indicating that the meeting was dying.

In the following years an effort was made to revive the Bush River Meeting, but this failed. Finally the few remaining members were put under the care of New Garden and Springfield. It should be noted that some of the Friends leaving Bush River resettled in the Springfield community, notably the English, Haworth, and Tomlinson families.<sup>17</sup> It was only natural for them to name the new location Bush Hill. (Later this community was named Archdale, in honor of the early Quaker Governor of Carolina.)

As to the Bush River Quarterly Meeting, the only records which have been found to date are the minutes of the Meeting for Women Friends, 1792 to 1801. Meetings reporting during this period were Bush River and Cane Creek (South Carolina), and Wrightsborough (Georgia). This quarterly meeting was laid down in 1812.

One problem (often overlooked) which faced the families who decided to move west was the difficulty of selling their Carolina homes. Often the remaining Quaker neighbors could not buy them. The economic law of supply and demand would naturally force selling prices to a very low level indeed. Old land-deeds seem to indicate that a great many Friends moved to Ohio and Indiana without being able to sell their old homes at all before leaving. In such cases, the property was left in the care of trusted neighbors who would do what they could to sell it. The coming of the Civil War further depressed the situation for many years. While no specific figures can be given, it seems that a rather large proportion of the emigrants were unable to



*This old wagon is similar to those used in the westward migrations.*

take any great sums of money with them in their westward travels. Those who did take money with them were in great danger along the way. It was not safe for a single family unit to travel alone.

For the Friends who remained in North Carolina there was great sadness and loneliness. Addison Coffin quotes Penelope Gardner of the Uwharrie Meeting:

I remember the next meeting day after so many had left Uwharrie. How lonesome I felt sitting there and listening to the chime of the cow bells on the mountain just east of the Meeting House.<sup>18</sup>

While precise names and details are not possible to secure, it is a reasonable conjecture that a great many personal tragedies occurred among young people when some families moved west and others remained. The separation of sweethearts was not a small matter when there was little hope of seeing each other again. Wounds of this nature can be deep and lasting.

As to the Uwharrie and Back Creek communities, Thomas T. Newby of Carthage, Indiana, visited relatives in North Carolina during the winter of 1856–1857. Notes from his diary give unique insights:

Got to Jesse Henley's about dark . . . Had an excellent supper, 'simmon puddin' being one dish. A good article it is too . . . Attended meeting at Uwharrie today . . . there being just one dozen of us; even number.<sup>19</sup>

Some of the Meetings which survived did so because of the heroic devotion of a few individuals, as two examples will show. At one point the Spring meeting was so low that one man "held services" alone, sometimes standing to speak as though the house were filled. One day some young men were standing outside and overheard his message. They were so moved that they decided to give him their support.<sup>20</sup> Back Creek was sustained for a time by one man and one woman. Not feeling it quite proper for the two of them to sit together, they held meeting alternately. Finally others, seeing their devotion, joined with them for worship. The meeting survived.

When westward migrations were greatest, many strong meetings suddenly found themselves weakened by the absence of a considerable proportion of the membership, including many of the ablest leaders. Again the Spring Meeting might be taken as an example. In 1811 an illustrious citizen of the Cane Creek Valley area, Jonathan Lindley, led a caravan of around two hundred people to southern Indiana, many of whom were from the Spring Community. Small wonder that the meeting declined in membership, never to regain its former strength.<sup>21</sup> Tradition has it that this caravan encountered an unexpected difficulty. Passing through the Cumberland Gap (double-teaming on the steep places with all the men pushing) the wagon train finally reached the Falls of the Ohio, where they camped for three weeks waiting for flood water to go down. Even then, the crossing was made with much difficulty and danger. A further note of interest is that the five unmarried daughters of Jonathan Lindley, ranging in age from fifteen to twenty-two, hewed the logs for the construction of their Indiana home!<sup>22</sup> Extreme difficulties and hardships awaited those arriving in Ohio and Indiana. Most migrating Friends had to live in the crudest log cabins for a time. No ready-made homes and cleared fields awaited them.

Elijah Coffin (who will be mentioned again below) and his family settled on the Whitewater River in "a log cabin about twenty feet square, with no window and but one door; the only opportunity to read during the long winter evenings being by the light of a large wood fire."<sup>23</sup>

There were about forty persons in a caravan led by Charles Coffin as it wound its way across the mountains. The oldest person in the company was seventy-four. There were two unmarried men and two unmarried women in the group. A bride and groom of six months were given preferential treatment, being allowed to "lodge in a wagon," rather than a tent.<sup>24</sup>

Hardships were involved, but anticipation and excitement helped



keep spirits high. Joseph Crosfield, a young British Friend of about twenty-five who observed migrating conditions saw the darker side of the picture:

Many of them being so poor as not to have a cent in their pockets & traveling on foot. I cannot tell how they will ever be able to get through the winter in the West but after that time they will probably do well enough.<sup>25</sup>

There was reason for the Friends remaining in North Carolina to be alarmed by increasing membership losses which could not be sustained indefinitely. The possibility that the Society of Friends in the South might cease to exist was painfully real. Small wonder that the Epistle of Advice for 1851 sounded a warning:

Many Friends have been induced to leave their habitation and remove from among us. We feel tenderly concerned that Friends before taking such a step may weightily consider this subject, waiting for best wisdom to direct their course.<sup>26</sup>

Obviously a tide of westward migrations had been set in motion which nothing could stop.<sup>27</sup> As the slavery problem grew worse, and as word came back about the great opportunities which lay beyond the mountains, the momentum increased. As the Civil War approached, the movement became a veritable exodus. Errol T. Elliott has expressed it well, writing from the Indiana perspective:

No Red Sea split open before them, nor were the mountains rent asunder for their passing, but with whatever difficulties attending, they came. In spirit it was as if they bore the "Ark of the Testimony" bumping along in a covered wagon! . . . They came by foot, on horseback, by wagons, and in sundry vehicles that were drawn by oxen or horses. It was chiefly the day of the covered wagon.<sup>28</sup>

As stated earlier, Stephen B. Weeks listed 166 Quaker communities across North Carolina. Of these only forty-two exist as meetings today.<sup>29</sup> Between 1794 and 1854, seven meetings were laid down in the Perquimans area. Symons Creek was laid down in 1856. The birthplace of Quakerism in the state had only one meeting remaining, Piney Woods. (Up River Meeting was not established as a place of worship until 1866.)

In the course of time, all the meetings in South Carolina and Georgia were laid down. Remaining members of the Wrightsborough Meeting moved north again, some to North Carolina, others to Tennessee.<sup>30</sup>

As conditions in the South worsened, and as the threat of civil war

became more ominous, some Friends were forced into a sudden decision by an unexpected turn of events, such as the formation of a traveling caravan to which they could attach themselves. One such instance occurred in the Westfield community, so it is said. A few couples who had been planning to marry soon asked the meeting to set a service of worship at an early date in which they might say their wedding vows, and thus be ready as husband and wife to join a wagon train toward the West. These couples loaded their wagons, drove to the Westfield meeting house and said their vows in the presence of the Friends assembled there. When all the certificates had been duly signed, and the meeting was over, they immediately boarded their wagons and set out together toward the West on a new adventure — married life in Ohio or Indiana. (Hopefully, they lived happily ever after.)<sup>31</sup>

By 1813 Friends had arrived in Ohio in sufficient numbers for a yearly meeting to be set up there, the first to be established beyond the Ohio River. It was set up by Baltimore, but as Stephen B. Weeks states, the parent yearly meeting was in reality North Carolina. He quotes Stanley Pumphrey's *Journal*: "I believe that fully half of the Friends in the West are of Carolina descent." Addison Coffin estimated that in 1850 one-third of the population of Indiana was composed of native Carolinians, or their children of the first generation.

In an address at the centennial celebration of Indiana Yearly Meeting in 1921, Harlow Lindley said, "Some of the new meetings . . . were practically the old meetings of the South transferred to northern soil."<sup>32</sup> Elton Trueblood has stated that at one session of Western Yearly Meeting someone asked all those who had North Carolina ancestry to stand. "Nearly the entire Yearly Meeting rose to its feet."<sup>33</sup>

The Quaker population of the country had so shifted westward that by the last half of the nineteenth century more than half of it was located in the Middle West.<sup>34</sup>

As a matter of interest it could be noted that the migratory spirit did not cease to exist among Friends when they were comfortably situated in Ohio or Indiana. In a few years many Friends moved on again — to Iowa, Kansas, California, Oregon, and other western states.

A complete listing of prominent western Friends with North Carolina background will not be attempted, but the mention of a few names will serve as a beginning. Timothy Nicholson, native of Eastern North Carolina, was called the "Master Quaker" of Indiana Yearly

Meeting.<sup>35</sup> His brother William Nicholson became a leading Friend in Kansas; he was the first clerk of Kansas Yearly Meeting (now Mid-America). Elijah Coffin was appointed clerk of North Carolina Yearly Meeting when only twenty-four years of age. Later he served thirty-two years as clerk of Indiana Yearly Meeting.<sup>36</sup> He was a leading figure in the establishment of the boarding school which became Earlham College. William V. Coffin was a leading Friend in the establishment of Whittier College, and presided at the opening session of California Yearly Meeting. William Hobson moved to Iowa from Yadkin County. He made a major contribution when Iowa Yearly Meeting was being formed, then led in the Quaker colonization of Oregon. He is known as the "Father of Oregon Yearly Meeting" (now Northwest Yearly Meeting).

Among the great educators which North Carolina furnished the Midwest was Jeremiah Hubbard of the New Garden community, teacher in the Little Brick School House. Charles A. Beard, famous historian, had Deep River ancestry. Joseph M. Dixon, governor of Montana, was from the Cane Creek community. Back Creek furnished the Hoovers and White Plains the Marshalls who produced a president of the United States.<sup>37</sup> The list could go on and on.

Since attention has been called to the great losses sustained by North Carolina, it seems only fair to note some of the able leaders who have come to North Carolina from other states. Here again only a few illustrative examples can be mentioned. Three of the yearly meeting executive secretaries (superintendents) have come from the Midwest: Lewis W. McFarland, Murray C. Johnson, and Fredric Carter. Among the early leaders in the revival movement were Mary Moon (Meredith) and James R. Jones from the Midwest; Fernando Cartland from Maine; and David Sampson from England. Teachers and educators were of great number, such as Harriet Peck of Rhode Island, Joseph Moore of Indiana, and a host of others. Many of the pastors of High Point, Greensboro (First Friends), Springfield, New Garden, and other meetings have come from outside the state. North Carolina Yearly Meeting has given richly, and received richly.

Even though the membership of the Yearly Meeting was decimated at the close of the Civil War, a remnant had remained, small in number but strong in character. Many persons have asked, "Why did any Friends stay? Why did not all leave?" Several reasons may be suggested, some applying in one situation more than in another:

1. Devotion to, and concern for, the local meeting.
2. Divine leadings to stay for an unknown reason.



3. Inability to foresee the prolonged, serious nature of the war.
4. Attachment to existing homes, built at great sacrifice.
5. Economic problems. Some could not sell their homes and farms for enough to finance the venture, especially those with large families.
6. The responsibility of caring for elderly and infirm parents who could not be taken.
7. Older men and women who were not physically able to undertake the labor of clearing new farms and building new homes.
8. Possibly, procrastination.

The person who best illustrates the first and second reasons listed above is Nereus Mendenhall, of the New Garden Boarding School. His possessions, packed for shipment, were at the railroad station. The night before leaving, he could not sleep. To quote his daughter, Mary Mendenhall Hobbs:

Another picture . . . is the sight of my father and mother standing together in the old library at the Boarding School, both weeping. He was saying, "Orianna, if I feel that the Lord requires me to stay, is thee willing to give up going and stay here?" Mother said, "Certainly, if that is thy feeling, I am willing to stay."

Trunks and boxes were brought back from the railroad station, and the invitation of brother Junius Mendenhall to come to Minneapolis to enter into a prosperous business career was declined. Self-sacrificing heroism of this kind enabled North Carolina Yearly Meeting to survive.<sup>38</sup>

Apparently no one could have been found who could have taken the place of Nereus Mendenhall at the New Garden Boarding School. The future of the school was obviously at stake. Had he left at this time, the school most likely would have closed, perhaps never to open again.

Just how many Quakers were living in North Carolina before the great westward migrations took their toll? No one knows precisely. Addison Coffin made the observation that in the early 1800s there were more Quakers in North Carolina than in any other state, but this was merely an estimate on his part. If fifteen thousand should be a realistic guess, it would take a full century and a half to reach that number again.

By 1845, according to a statement in *The Friend* (London), the number had diminished to less than five thousand, with half of these to leave soon. The British estimate of Friends in America was as follows.<sup>39</sup>

Philadelphia	8,686	
Virginia	331	(About to be laid down)
New York	11,000	(Including Canada)
New England	8,021	
Ohio	18,000	
Indiana	30,000	(Including Western Yearly Meeting)
Maryland (Baltimore)	562	
North Carolina	4,500	

Apparently this includes only Orthodox Friends, for the following statement is added: "The number of Hicksites (in Philadelphia and other areas) is thought to be about 23,000."

## *The War Between the States*

The suffering of Friends who remained in North Carolina during the Civil War cannot be dealt with adequately in this space. The reader is referred to *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, by Stephen B. Weeks (1896), and *Southern Heroes*, by Fernando Cartland (1895). Cartland visited the various meetings of North Carolina and Virginia after the war, collecting accounts of individual experiences directly from the persons who had survived the ordeal. These were persons like Paul who had known "perils by their own countrymen." (II Cor. 11:26)

The biography, *Mary Barker Hinshaw, Quaker*, recounts the experiences of Thomas and Mary Hinshaw during these eventful years. (Thomas Hinshaw refused to participate in military activities. He was taken prisoner after Gettysburg; later released by President Lincoln.) This story has a local setting, but it reflects the trials and suffering of all southern Quakers who undertook to maintain their peace testimony in the crucible of severe testing.

Although pro-Unionist sentiment was greatly reduced following the actual outbreak of hostilities, as will be seen in a moment, Quakers were not alone in opposing secession, especially in the central part of the state. Friends were merely one segment in what has been called "The Other South."<sup>1</sup> Some historians have estimated that around 54,000 southern men fought in the Union armies during the war.<sup>2</sup> The late Edgar Murrow used to say that Concord Township in Guilford County furnished as many men to the Union Army as to the Confederate Army. This may have been an estimate, but it indicates the way in which the population was divided.

Obviously, it could be stated that there was also "The Other North." Northern states were less adapted to a slave-plantation economy, but textile mills there were dependent upon cheap slave-produced cotton. Hence division over slavery abounded everywhere. It was not confined to one sharply defined geographical area.

It is outside the scope of this study, but for several decades before the outbreak of the Civil War, the whole country was in a turmoil



over the slavery question, especially in Kansas and other places where pro-slavery and anti-slavery forces clashed most severely. Across the country, many reasonable people recognized the fact that the institution of human bondage could not be retained permanently, but with great economic factors involved, these same people were not yet ready to follow the lead of the Quakers in freeing their slaves, then abolishing the system altogether.<sup>3</sup>

In the central part of North Carolina, the general attitude of the people was revealed by the fact that when an election was called in February, 1861, to determine whether the state would call a convention to consider seceding from the Union, the vote in Randolph County, for example, was 2,446 against, and 45 for.<sup>4</sup> A chain of events in the South had been set in motion, however, which could not be stopped.

As the early weeks and months of 1861 passed, the climate in the state changed rapidly. The moderate position which had characterized North Carolina gave way to a strong defense of the institution of slavery. With the secession of South Carolina, the fall of Ft. Sumter, and Lincoln's call for volunteer troops to "put down the insurrection," the state turned toward joining the Confederacy, quite reluctantly at first.

As the Civil War approached, the churches which had officially opposed slavery in earlier years tended to follow the prevailing current of the times.<sup>5</sup> Except for the Quakers who dared to be different, "war fever" spread among religious bodies. Clergymen quoted Scripture (the Old Testament, of course) to prove that war may be in keeping with God's Holy Will, and that participation is a Christian duty. North Carolina Quakers were understandably distressed that Christian preachers not only condoned war, but actually promoted it. Clergymen enlisted by the hundreds in the fighting ranks. Some individuals actively recruited a company, then became its captain. Reportedly, a single Arkansas regiment contained forty-two ordained preachers! The *New Orleans Christian Advocate* said, "Nearly every clergyman we know is a member of a military company."<sup>6</sup>

The yearly meeting Minute of Advice for 1864 expressed the idea that failure of Christian preachers to teach the New Testament concept of "peace and good will among men" lay at the root of the problem which was convulsing the nation:

We verily believe that the great distress in which our country is now plunged, is in a large degree traceable to the hireling ministry of the present day . . .<sup>7</sup>

Of course the reference here is to clergymen in other denominations,

because there were no Quaker pastors in the state at that time.

Pro-unionist sentiment across the state disintegrated as war hysteria spread. This phenomenon is not easily understood, but somehow it happened. The majority of the population of the state regardless of former points of view, united to fight a common enemy, their fellow-countrymen in northern and western states. Jonathan Worth of Randolph County put it this way:

The voice of reason is silenced. Furious passion and thirst for blood consume the air. Nobody is allowed to retain or assert his reason.<sup>8</sup>

This sweeping statement was not the whole picture, however. A minority did retain pro-Unionist, antiwar convictions. This included the Quakers — so nearly all of them that one is justified in making this assertion.

On May 20, 1861, the Quakers found themselves outside the Union and a part of the Confederacy, facing into a war which they deeply deplored. Fernando Cartland described the situation in this way:

When the news of the first conscription act . . . reached the Friends, there was not a little anxiety among them, for they knew that a trial of their faith was at hand . . . In its records, North Carolina Yearly Meeting says: "There was naturally for a time some unsettlement and much uncertainty; but very soon . . . there was experienced a deeper 'rooting for the storm,' and those whose faith was really overthrown were few indeed."<sup>9</sup>

In the Civil War, as in the Revolutionary War almost a century earlier, Friends faced the painful experience of being almost totally misunderstood. Their peace testimony and their refusal to participate in violence was taken to mean disloyalty. In each conflict they were accused of treason.

Fortunately, there were a few officials who understood and respected them. In the early days of the war (December, 1861) a Test Oath was proposed in the state assembly by Asa Biggs, an ardent secessionist, which would require every person to swear allegiance to the Confederate Government — or be deported within thirty days. Former Governor William C. Graham made a resounding speech, from which a few statements are quoted:

Now, sir, the requirement of this affirmation to be taken by the . . . Quakers is as effectual an act of banishment of that sect as if it had been plainly denounced in the ordinance . . . It is well known that they will not engage in war, and are conscientiously scrupulous against bearing arms. Our laws, from the Revolution downward to this day, have

respected their scruples, and extended to them the charity and tolerance due to the sincerity and humility of their profession . . . [They are] a quiet, moral, industrious, thrifty people, differing from us in opinion on the subject of slavery, but . . . producing abundantly by their labor, paying punctually and certainly their dues to the government and supporting their own poor. Sir, upon the expulsion from among us of such people the civilized world would cry "shame"!<sup>10</sup>

The Test Oaths and Sedition Act was not passed.

Many people believed that the armed clash would be brief and not too serious in nature. Secessionists "looked forward eagerly to the speedy achievement of southern independence, safety and prosperity." When the Provisional Constitution of the Confederate States of America was ratified, "bands played martial airs, guns fired salutes, church bells pealed, and people paraded and shouted for joy."<sup>11</sup> Thousands of southern young men volunteered for service in the Confederate army in a light-hearted, adventurous manner, little realizing the actual horror of that which lay ahead.

Many people across the state found themselves faced with a conflict of loyalties. At first this may not have been too serious. Then the problem became agonizing. Should they take up arms against their fellow-countrymen in support of secession and slavery, which they opposed? Should loyalty to their state supercede loyalty to the Union?

For Quakers, the regional element was of minor importance. The major question was loyalty on a different level: should they obey man or God? This may seem to be an oversimplification, but for Quakers who were firmly convinced that participation in war was a violation of conscience, the choice was clear, even though terrible consequences were to follow.

The great majority of Carolina Quakers had moved to Ohio and Indiana before the war began. Of those who remained, every able-bodied man was faced with military conscription.

Pathetic notes appear in the yearly meeting Minutes during the Civil War period. The Minute of Advice for 1860 contains the following statements:

It was impressed upon us that we should not on account of the smallness, or the silence of these meetings give way to discouragement in attending them . . .

It is to be feared that some have their minds so much set upon moving away from this part of the land, that they are neglecting their proper duties. Whatever may be right for us in this respect, may we not forget that there is an emigration for us all . . . to a better country — that is an Heavenly . . .<sup>12</sup>



When the yearly meeting convened in the fall of 1862, the war was in progress, and a great surge of westward migrations had taken place in the preceding year. The Minute of Advice stated:

Our number is indeed small, and seems continually growing smaller, but let none be discouraged on this account, for there is more strength in a few faithful members than in many unfaithful ones.<sup>13</sup>

The reference here seems to be to members who were in the process of being disowned for yielding to the pressures to participate in the war effort.

A special session of the Meeting for Sufferings was called at Springfield in August, 1862, for the purpose of formulating messages to the State Assembly and the Confederate Congress at Richmond, stating the religious conviction of Friends relative to participation in war and asking to be exempted. Selected statements from these two petitions, which were similar in nature, are as follows:

Your petitioners respectfully show that it is one of our fundamental religious principles to bear a faithful testimony against all wars and fightings, and that in consequence we cannot aid in carrying on any war . . .

This is no new principle of our Society, but one which was adopted at its rise, as the doctrine taught by our Saviour . . . and has ever been and is now held as one of our fundamental and vital principles, and one we cannot yield or compromise in any degree whatsoever . . .

Being concerned about the charges of disloyalty and treason which were being brought against Quakers for their non-participation in the war, the following explanatory statements were included:

Your petitioners would present to you that we believe it to be our moral and religious duty to submit to the government under which we live, and to the laws and powers that be, or suffer the consequences.

We own no God but the God of Love, Truth, Peace, Mercy and Judgment, whose blessing we invoke, and whose wisdom we implore to be with you in your legislative deliberation.<sup>14</sup>

John Carter and Nereus Mendenhall "attended to the appointment," taking these official messages to Confederate authorities in Richmond. They were "treated with respect . . . and by some, with tenderness and feeling." They were assisted by John B. Crenshaw, "who labored faithfully in word and doctrine," and were "well satisfied with the interview." Naturally, their request was not granted in full, but some concessions were made for military exemption on the

basis of paying a \$500.00 tax — which some Friends could not pay, since this was too much in the nature of “hiring a substitute,” or too much in the nature of “buying a religious privilege.”<sup>15</sup> Some of those who paid the exemption tax were later conscripted again when the man-power situation became serious in the last year of the war. Incidentally, the payment of \$500.00 in gold or silver impoverished some who sacrificed all their assets in order to raise this sum.

As might be expected under such circumstances, a few individuals sought to identify themselves with the Society of Friends for the purpose of availing themselves of the protection provided. These were called “War Quakers,” and were a source of concern to the yearly meeting, as indicated in the Minute of Advice for 1864.<sup>16</sup> It should be stated emphatically, however, that not all people seeking to join Friends during this period were insincere. A great many people were deeply convinced of the essential *rightness* of the Quaker position relative to war, and desired to identify themselves with it, whatever the cost.

One incident from among many may serve as an illustration. In the early days of the war, Jesse Buckner of Chatham County (a Baptist and militia colonel) was a strong supporter of secession. As time went along, however, the conviction grew upon him that war is contrary to the Gospel, and that to slay one's fellow man is *sin*. One dark night as he was going to a political meeting, he lost his way. Coming to a building which turned out to be Spring Meeting House, he sat down on the steps to rest. With the Quaker conviction much on his mind, he decided it was his duty to unite with the people who worshiped there, and to participate no further in the terrible war which was going on. When conscripted soon thereafter, he refused to fight. Since he was not a Quaker at the beginning of the war, his appeals for exemption were called “a glaring fraud” by the authorities in Richmond. He was subjected to extended torture and suffering, but being young and strong, he survived the following three years.<sup>17</sup>

Exact numbers cannot be obtained, but a few Quakers went to the salt works on the coast beyond Wilmington where ocean water was evaporated in order to obtain salt.<sup>18</sup> Others felt that this was not a satisfactory alternative to conscription, since most of the salt was for the army.

Not all the suffering that was imposed on the Quakers during the Civil War was officially directed. Justice under law did not always prevail, as was the case with William H. Hare, of the Somerton Meeting in southeastern Virginia. Two men in military clothing came to his home on the pretext of arresting him. They first demanded five

hundred dollars, which he paid without protest. Then they shot him in the head when his back was turned. The bullet fractured his skull, but he survived. In later years he sometimes met these men on the streets of a nearby town. He declined to identify them, however, saying that he had "tried to forgive them."<sup>19</sup>

Men who refused to carry a gun were physically tortured in the army — some almost to the point of death, as was Solomon Frazier of the Marlboro Meeting.<sup>20</sup> Graphic accounts of these sufferings were brought back into local communities by men on furlough. Wives and families of the persecuted men naturally suffered along with them.

Foraging army units scoured the countryside for supplies. Horses were taken for army use. Cows, sheep, hogs, and poultry were taken until little was left. The scarcity of food and clothing intensified. Malnutrition and actual hunger faced the families of the men who were away.<sup>21</sup>

As news of the conditions back home began to reach the men who were in the army, many of them were almost beside themselves with anxiety for their families. Desertions increased enormously. A great many of these deserters were devoted fathers who could not stand to be away any longer, knowing that their children were hungry, cold, suffering.

Other deserters were less honorable men and became outlaws and criminals. Most communities in the central and western part of the state contained outlaw-criminal bands which terrorized the countryside, robbing and plundering. Guerrilla-type war broke out. There were home-burnings, hangings, and the like. Hatred and violence gripped the countryside.<sup>22</sup> All of this brought wrath upon the Quakers and false accusations that they were supporting terrorist deserters. The Quaker position was well stated by a member of the Holly Spring Meeting (name unknown) who wrote: "We don't believe in war, nor do we believe in deserters, particular those that rob, steal and murder."<sup>23</sup>

Unfortunately for Friends of later years, the written minutes of most local meetings during the war contain only the record of the *actions* taken, and almost nothing about prevailing conditions, or the sufferings which were being endured by the membership. The sad picture can be put together only by assembling bits and pieces.

The sessions of North Carolina Yearly Meeting were held each year, but apparently very few people could attend. The printed minutes for 1863 consist of two folded sheets of paper, eight small pages. Friends were "in the shadow of darkness."

Some unexpected problems developed. One of these is worthy of



note in that it reveals the depth of Quaker concern to keep entirely clear of any compromise of religious convictions:

Owing to the fact that laboring men have been drawn to the battlefield, and that there is a large influx of slaves to the interior of our state, some may be tempted to avail themselves of this supply, especially as slave labor may now be had for board and clothing. We desire Friends to be guarded in this matter also.<sup>24</sup>

In the course of events, Wayne County Friends found themselves in the path of General Sherman's march toward Goldsboro, hence victims of his scorched earth policy, along with all other residents of the area. Many were left totally destitute.<sup>25</sup>

A most critical situation faced piedmont Friends during the very last days of the war, for the central part of the state had become the center of hostilities. After the fall of Richmond and the surrender of Lee, General Johnston was encamped near Greensboro. (During these fateful days, Lincoln was assassinated.) General Sherman had moved toward Raleigh, and was prepared for further devastation. In between were the Quakers. At this point, Johnston surrendered. The war was over.

North Carolina had lost over forty thousand men, the greatest number of any state in the South.<sup>26</sup> As to monetary expenditure, it had supplied far more than its proportion of the estimated seven billion dollars. How many times over would these figures have to be multiplied to indicate the total cost of the war, no one can say. And in terms of human casualties, possibly the number of soldiers who died was less than the loss of life among the people who suffered at home.<sup>27</sup> Even in the army, more men died of disease — smallpox, typhoid fever, dysentery, and the like — than in combat. And there is no way to measure, nor even to estimate, the amount of anguish and suffering involved in the over-all calamity.

The end of the war in April, 1865, did not mean the instant return of peace and prosperity. Quakers and non-Quakers alike faced continued poverty, struggling to emerge from the depths of suffering and despair. All this was made much worse by the trauma of political reconstruction and carpetbagger politics, a situation too complex to be analyzed here. Throughout much of the South, the intense hatred of wartime, and the intense bitterness of defeat, lingered for many years after the actual fighting had ceased.

When the yearly meeting convened in November of 1865, a Minute of Advice was formulated which contained this statement:

... Delivered as we have been ... we cannot but acknowledge that the



*Daniel Barker as "An Old Man"  
from a portrait by John Collins.  
Daniel Barker moved from the  
Holly Spring community to Deep  
River Meeting, and was an active  
minister in the Yearly Meeting  
during the Civil War period.*

Lord hath done great things for us and that it behooves us to redouble our diligence and faithfulness in His service.<sup>28</sup>

This noteworthy statement was included:

The position which Friends have held in respect to war and slavery was comparable to a little taper casting a glimmering light through the surrounding gloom.

The general attitude of Friends in North Carolina was further reflected in the Minute of Advice which appeared the following year:

... and though we may rejoice at the extinction of slavery in our land, we cannot rejoice at the manner in which it was accomplished. Dreadful indeed has been the ordeal through which our nation has passed. As the

Israelites were delivered of old, so have been the slaves in our midst . . . but while the war has ceased and the shackles of slavery have been cut asunder, the spirit of both still lives. The freedman is still subject to many difficulties and besetments, and probably today offers a broader field for our exertions than ever before. Let Friends then not relax their efforts in his behalf.<sup>29</sup>

The institution of slavery no longer existed, and secession had failed. But the costs had been fearful. Quakers had incurred the wrath of many who were zealous in promoting the war. For example the Somerton Meeting House and the nearby school house for black children were burned in 1866, a full year after the war was over.<sup>30</sup>

The peace testimony of southern Friends during the Civil War, not widely known nor remembered today, is one of the outstanding pages of Quaker history. Not since the persecutions of the early years have there been such measures of hardship and suffering, nor such measures of heroic courage. Friends in the North and East had their trials, of course; but not in a measure comparable to that which occurred in the South. It is almost impossible to comprehend the measures of physical violence which were inflicted upon those who refused to participate in the war.

Allen Jay commented on how faithfully North Carolina Friends had borne their testimony to the cause of peace during the Civil War:

One thing impressed me day after day, in going from one home to another and from one meeting to another — that I was in the midst of a people who, without noise or any great flourish of trumpets, had . . . won a silent yet glorious victory, for “they endured as seeing Him who is invisible,” and as we listened to the pitiful stories of their trials, privations and persecutions, we felt that we were among a people who had walked through the fiery furnace unconscious that “One like unto the Son of Man was with them.” They had come out “without the smell of fire upon their garments . . .” They appeared little to realize that they had been making history that would place them in the list of God’s heroes; that they were sowing the seed that would build up his kingdom on earth again . . . they had heard the voice of God and were faithful to His will; men and women who knew more of God than some whom I have since met who make a much louder profession, talk more about doctrine . . .<sup>31</sup>

Perhaps there is some element of truth in a statement which Will Durant once made: “The Quakers astonished the world by living like Christians!”

The Civil War is a prime example of what some historians have called “The Law of Unintended Consequences.” Both sides thought



the struggle would be brief. The North thought the "insurrection" could be brought under control with a minimal amount of conflict. The South believed that their "subjugation to Northern tyranny" could be terminated with little loss of life and property. Instead, there were four terrible years of mutual destruction, almost suicidal for the South. Surely no one deliberately planned such "Unintended Consequences."

Out of the darkness, sometimes light emerges. A story coming out of the Neuse community near Goldsboro is a revealing part of the Carolina Quaker heritage, and space is given to it here, as related by Allen Jay, years later.:

One dear Friend, near Goldsboro, told how Johnston's men first, and then Sherman's following, took their horses and cattle, cleared up their chickens, indeed did not leave anything alive on the farm . . . a spirit of wanton destruction . . . Several years after this, sitting by the bedside of a dying soldier in Indiana, he brought up this circumstance and what happened in this home, and the part that he took in it. He spoke of the Christian spirit manifested by those dear Friends, of the father, the mother, the three children, and then added, "Oh, I wish I could see them and ask their forgiveness for the part I took in destroying their home!" When I told him I knew them well, and had often partaken of their hospitality, that they were prospering, and that the children had grown up lovely Christians, he begged that I would bear his dying request that they would forgive him, and his prayer that they might meet in Heaven. All this I have carefully done.<sup>32</sup>

## *Amazing Survival and Recovery*

The survival of North Carolina Yearly Meeting following the devastation of the Civil War is one of the most amazing events in all Quaker history. This was made possible by a number of factors which will be considered in a moment, but the crucial fact was that the fellowship of Friends North and South was not disrupted by the hostilities of the war. The solicitous love and concern of Friends in other yearly meetings prompted them to provide assistance when this was a necessity. North Carolina Friends were in a "weak and scattered condition," but they were rich in terms of loving care on the part of other Friends. One evidence of this concern was the fact that at the close of the war when travel became possible, there were fourteen visitors from other states at the yearly meeting sessions of 1865; twenty-two in 1866; twenty-five in 1867.

An awareness of the destitute condition of Friends in the South prompted Francis T. King of Baltimore to form an organization in 1865 called the "Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Southern Friends." Work was begun immediately. The records of this body indicate that the Secretary of War promptly gave passes to those who were the bearers of food, clothing, and money. Though personal strangers, these Friends were welcomed "with tears of joy and gratitude."<sup>1</sup> All other American yearly meetings, including London and Dublin, contributed funds to this great humanitarian undertaking.

Francis T. King was a wealthy businessman of Baltimore, the first president of the Board of Trustees of Bryn Mawr College and of Johns Hopkins Hospital. During the next few years he made two voyages across the Atlantic to present the needs of southern Friends to English and Irish Quakers. He made some forty trips to North Carolina to study the situation, and to give supervision to the work of the association. He was away so much that a friend suggested that if he would ask for a minute to stay home, the meeting would grant it.

Traveling at his own expense, King had no thought of compensation. His labor of love involved hardships and privations at a time



*Francis T. King*

when he could have been living at ease in his comfortable Baltimore home. Being painfully aware of the plight of southern Friends, his sensitive conscience would not allow him to relax in peace when it lay within his power to initiate the action which would make the crucial difference in the survival of the Quaker remnant in the South. No one can say precisely what would have happened without the timely assistance of Friends from other yearly meetings, but the concensus is that North Carolina Yearly Meeting would have been laid down. At least this was the belief clearly stated by Francis T. King himself.

The records of the Baltimore Association indicate that the total amount of funds raised and expended in the South (mostly in North Carolina) was \$138,000, a truly great achievement of Friends in that day. There is no way in which the enormous amount of labor expended can be evaluated in monetary terms.

The area of the state where the Quaker population suffered the most severe devastation was Wayne County. In the First Annual Report of the Baltimore Association, Francis T. King stated:

During the spring and summer of 1865, directly after Sherman's march,



two of our number twice visited North Carolina to distribute provisions, clothing and money, and during that year we forwarded to the west about four hundred members, adults and children, about fifty of whom arrived here destitute at one time . . . Though we discouraged this emigration, we could not wonder at it, as they fled from the ravages of war . . .<sup>2</sup>

Francis T. King came to North Carolina and investigated the situation himself, and came to the conclusion that it was better for the people to remain here upon farms which they owned rather than to seek homes in the West, where they would have to encumber themselves with heavy indebtedness.

Addison Coffin held a different point of view. Apparently he sincerely believed that "there was not and never could be" the possibility of a reconstructed South. Addison Coffin spent a great deal of time assisting westward migrations, involving both Friends and non-Friends. He organized expeditions, some by wagon train through the mountains, some on the railroad by way of Richmond and Baltimore. He wrote:

There were near 16000 souls emigrated from North and South Carolina between 1865 and the spring of 1872; though a heavy task I tried to keep in touch with most of them for several years, that the results might be correctly ascertained.<sup>3</sup>

Coffin states that not more than one tenth of these emigrants were Quakers. Even so, losing that many additional members was a severe drain on a yearly meeting which was already faced with the problem of continued survival.

While Coffin was going from meeting to meeting encouraging Quakers to leave the South, other leading Friends realized that Coffin's efforts were further weakening the yearly meeting. Alarmed lest Quakerism should indeed die in the South, Nereus Mendenhall and a number of others who had labored valiantly to sustain the life of Friends in the area, pleaded earnestly with Coffin to cease encouraging Friends to leave, and instead to assist them in rebuilding local meetings and schools. Several years later Allen Jay wrote, "I distinctly remember hearing Francis T. King in our own home argue this point with Addison Coffin."<sup>4</sup>

With reference to the number of Friends left in North Carolina at the close of the Civil War, no precise figures are available. There seems to have been less than two thousand, most of whom were in very small, weak meetings. No statistics were given before 1871. At that time a committee was appointed to devise a plan for a statistical report.

This was done, and "Quarterly Meetings were directed to make returns accordingly" — beginning in 1872. One striking feature of this first report was that the average age of deceased members was given as thirty-five. Adequate medical care was not available, and many children did not survive the dreaded second summer, a fact which of necessity affected the average life span.

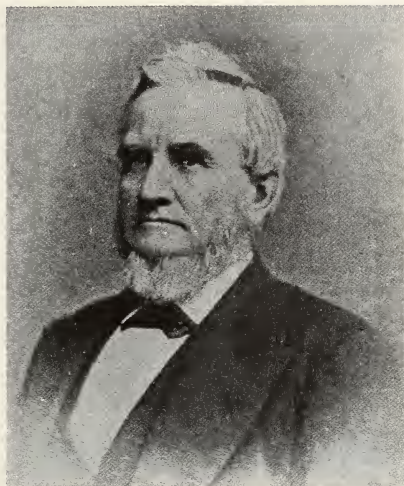
Although few in number, the Friends who remained in the South formed a root system for renewed life. They had some distinct advantages during post-war days. They had not become embittered by unreasoning hatred; they had remained true to their religious faith; they did not suffer the despair of defeat as did their neighbors who had supported secession and a war to sustain the institution of slavery. This gave them a substantial headstart in recovery. In the words of the New Testament, Southern Friends were "persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed." Never having been dependent upon slave labor, they knew how to go about rebuilding their ruined farms and their disrupted lives.

As to the quality of the Friends who remained in Carolina throughout the Civil War, it seems that they represented a good cross-section of the earlier membership. This statement is made in spite of the claims of some writers that "the more industrious members moved westward." Some outstanding leaders did go west of course, but other equally outstanding members stayed. The list of such persons of great ability and dedication might begin with Dr. Nereus Mendenhall, mentioned in connection with New Garden Boarding School. Obviously the amazing recovery of Quakerism after the war could not have been achieved without strong and capable leaders, unexcelled by Friends anywhere.

Not the least among the factors which made the survival of the yearly meeting possible was the fact that New Garden Boarding School had survived the war years when most other schools were closed. Thus it was that a center for training teachers existed — teachers who would help in rebuilding the schools across the state.

Fortunately, some individuals and families returned to the state after the war. A complete listing of these will not be undertaken, but a few examples will serve as illustrations. It is important to note that these people who returned to their native communities did so at great personal sacrifice because of the extremely difficult reconstruction years which were to follow.

As soon as conditions permitted, William Hockett of the Centre



*Nereus Mendenhall*

community, and Thomas and Mary Hinshaw, Nathan Barker and William and Mary Moffitt of the Holly Spring Community, returned. The widowed wife of Benjamin Franklin Briggs, Phoebe Ledbetter Briggs, along with her three sons, Alphaeus, Clay and John, returned to the Deep River community in 1865.<sup>5</sup> They had been in Indiana only one year. Calvin Perkins returned to the Contentnea community, Wayne County. A number of Friends returned to the South Fork community, as related by Mary Marshall Lindley:

There were fourteen wagons, and the wagon master was Jonathan Hadley. Alfred H. Harris (Uncle Doc) was fourteen years old. I remember talking with Paul Harris . . . and he thought they were from what is now Plainfield, Indiana. Grandfather W. G. Marshall was born in Indiana, September 23, 1867 . . . Hadley, Harris and Marshall are all the names that I have ever heard that were in this group. They joined South Fork later. That was before Plainfield Meeting was started. South Fork Meeting was established in November, 1800 . . . I have heard my Grandfather William F. Marshall (Will) tell that they lived under a grape arbor until they got the house built.<sup>6</sup>

John W. Woody of the Spring Meeting, who had made his way to Indiana at the beginning of the war (walking most of the way) spent several years there completing his education, and teaching. His first great concern, however, was for education in North Carolina. He returned to his home state to follow his teaching career in later years.<sup>7</sup>



The overall plan of the Baltimore Association was to assist Southern Friends to get to their feet so that they could help themselves. Obviously this was the most constructive kind of help which could have been rendered. The total program was spiritually oriented, even rebuilding the schools and furnishing teachers for them — as Mary M. Hobbs stated quite clearly:

[Francis T. King] believed with all his soul that the South had need of its Quakers . . . and that to meet this need the Quaker must be so trained that he could comprehend the situation and be able to address himself to it, and not to waste his opportunity through ignorance, prejudice, and superstition.<sup>8</sup>

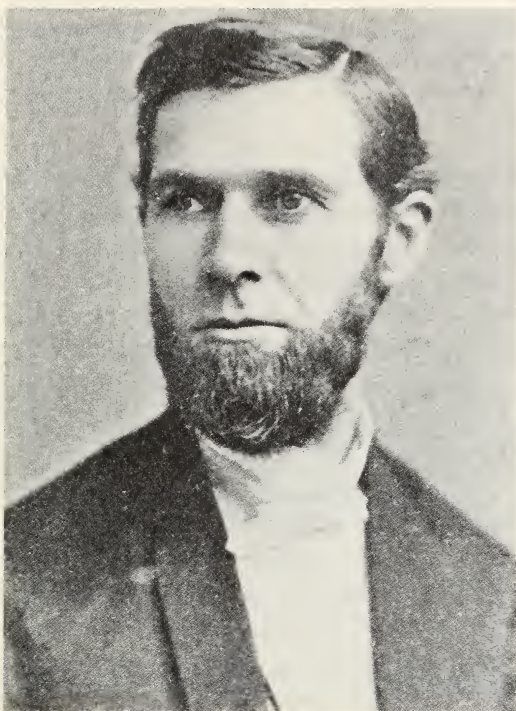
To the credit of North Carolina Friends it should be stated that this assistance was received as graciously as it had been given — as a simple expression of loving concern.<sup>9</sup>

A number of able and dedicated Friends came to North Carolina to assist in the work. Among these were John Scott, Richard M. Janney, Sarah F. Smiley, Joseph James Neave (London), and Joseph Crosfield. The major directors of the work were Joseph Moore and Allen Jay, to whom North Carolina Friends owe a great debt of gratitude.

Joseph Moore of Earlham College in Indiana (Harvard graduate) was sent to supervise the overall program.<sup>10</sup> He held this position for three years until he was called back to Indiana to become president of Earlham College.<sup>11</sup> His contribution to Friends in the South during those years was truly enormous. His dedication and his wise administration made the work of the Baltimore Association efficient and productive. Allen Jay, also of Indiana, was the next school superintendent for the Baltimore Association. His work will be considered at greater length later.

The Springfield-High Point area was chosen for the headquarters of the Baltimore Association for a number of reasons. Francis T. King and others were impressed by the capable, efficient leadership in that vicinity. They believed that this was fast becoming the "capital" of Quakerism in the state.<sup>12</sup> Its nearness to the railroad was a great factor in the day when railroads were the only efficient means of land transportation. The building of a yearly meeting house in High Point in 1882–1883 is further evidence of this trend.

Funds for the work of the Baltimore Association did not appear automatically. Concerned individuals had to present the needs to Friends far and near. In America, perhaps the most dramatic event occurred in Iowa when Joel Bean was clerk. When Allen Jay had



*Joseph Moore*

agreed to succeed Joseph Moore as superintendent of the schools of the Baltimore Association in North Carolina, Francis T. King asked him to go to Iowa Yearly Meeting first, and there to "raise all the money he could." Jay's account follows:

One evening I was informed that I might have fifteen minutes the next morning. I was frightened and laid awake most of the night to prepare a fifteen minute talk . . . The hour came. The house was full. There sat before me men who had fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters and dear relatives in the old North State who had gone through the horrors of war, whom they did not hear from for four long years, and I had been in their homes and heard of their suffering . . . I rose trembling all over and so frightened that I did not remember anything I had made up to say, but plunged into the subject and did not stop for nearly an hour. When I sat down there was weeping all over the house. James Owen rose at once and proposed that I go upstairs and lay the matter before the women's meeting . . . So with an escort I went up, was introduced by the clerk, Hannah Bean, with the reminder that time was precious. When the few minutes were out, many were wiping their eyes; so I

spoke forty-five minutes, and then they entered into a collection, and when I went down stairs I had four hundred dollars . . . [The men] had raised one thousand dollars while I was upstairs. I slept well that night . . .<sup>13</sup>

In addition to furnishing teachers for schools, and in the rebuilding of school houses and meeting houses, a "Model Farm" was established just north of the Springfield Meeting House. Here the farmers of the Piedmont were given practical instruction in rebuilding the worn-out soil of their farms through the use of clover and other cover crops which would enrich the soil and check erosion. These activities seem to have been the first attempt at agricultural education in the state. A bone mill was installed for making fertilizer from the bones of farm animals. In the year 1867, 500 pounds of clover seed were imported and sold at cost; in 1868, 5,000 pounds; in 1869 a total of 19,880 pounds! A careful estimate indicated that over 10,000 acres were successfully seeded with clover as a result of this program.<sup>14</sup>

During the Civil War and for a number of years afterward, the state public school system ceased to operate. A few small individual schools were open, but that was all.<sup>15</sup> The situation was such that Joseph Moore could say, "I know of no system . . . in operation but ours." During this period, a prominent citizen, E. W. Knight, observed that "the Quakers are doing more to reconstruct the state than all the Legislators." Governor Jonathan Worth said, "The work is quite the most important that has come to my knowledge."<sup>16</sup> This great contribution to the educational progress of the state has been almost entirely overlooked until recent years. Recognition is long overdue.

One of the most important phases of this educational program was the establishment of teacher training institutes, called normal schools. The first was conducted at Springfield in 1865; the second at Deep River in 1866. For the next three years normal schools were again held at Springfield. In 1871 a normal school was held at Cane Creek with an attendance of more than one hundred.

The Baltimore Association concluded its work in North Carolina in 1872. However, Allen Jay was asked to serve one more year as superintendent of yearly meeting schools.<sup>17</sup> Allen U. Tomlinson then took charge of the work, and under his supervision a normal school was held at Belvidere in 1873, and at Asheboro in 1874. Both of these were in cooperation with the county boards of education. Gradually the public school system began to assume responsibility for this work. The last two yearly meeting-supported normal schools were held in



Greensboro in 1876 and 1877. These may be regarded as the beginning of a great teacher-training system in North Carolina.<sup>18</sup> The *Friends Review* contained this statement:

The well-directed efforts of the Friends have stimulated patriotic citizens to devote attention to a work so vitally connected with the general well-being. This stimulation was desperately needed, for the general population across the state was too impoverished and discouraged to take energetic initiative in public education for quite a long while after the war ended.<sup>19</sup>

Zora Klain put the matter this way:

The Quakers of North Carolina . . . were the first in the state immediately after the war to take up the work of training teachers and providing for the other educational needs of the children . . . While the state's machinery was being reconstructed for the necessary educational work, the Quakers bent their efforts in bridging the gap left open.<sup>20</sup>

Zora Klain made a further statement which put the educational work of Friends following the Civil War on a much broader basis:

The contribution that North Carolina Quakers made to education does not lie so much in the number of schools that they established . . . but in their attitude toward education, in their example in establishing schools, and in their active stimulation of the community interest in schools.<sup>21</sup>

When he had concluded his work with the Baltimore Association Allen Jay had high praise for the teachers with whom he had been associated:

I feel that North Carolina Yearly Meeting owes more to those devoted and self-sacrificing teachers than it is aware of . . . the Blairs, Henleys, Farlows, Dixons, Englishes, Tomlinsons, Davises, Worths, Fraziers, Whites, Pettys, Hodgins, Benbows, Starbucks, Mendenhalls, Wilsons and others of the South; and from the North the Meaders, Steeres, Hollingsworths, and Clarks — all dear names to us who were in the field.<sup>22</sup>

Following the Civil War, mostly through the assistance of the Baltimore Association, a number of academies were begun by North Carolina Friends. These academies offered advanced courses beyond monthly meeting elementary schools, corresponding somewhat to modern high schools. Most of them were established on a quarterly meeting basis. A great many students lived in surrounding homes during the week, since dormitory facilities were not available.

For more than half a century these academies played an important role in the education of young Friends in North Carolina. The story of each one should be included, but space makes this impossible.

Eastern Quarter: Belvidere and Corinth<sup>23</sup>

Contentnea: Woodland

Western: Providence and Sylvan (at Cane Creek)

Southern: Evergreen (at Holly Spring)

Surry: Westfield and Blue Ridge Mission

Yadkin: Yadkinville (Founded by Zeno Dixon, 1891)

Tennessee: Friendsville

Deep River and New Garden: New Garden Boarding School.<sup>24</sup>

The minutes of the Springfield Meeting (1804, 1805) recount the action of the meeting in buying land, constructing a building, employing a school master, and also preparing "a House for Boarders." Although not called an academy, it seems that a comparatively high level of education was attained there before the Civil War. Mention is made of a school which was opened in 1853 "with David Marshall as Principal," but little more is known.<sup>25</sup> This interesting note appears in relation to the earlier school: "This Meeting thinks it Necessary to provide a Stove for the use of the school." Moses Hogatt "was appointed to try to get one . . ."

Augusta Academy existed in Yadkin Quarter for a time under the leadership of David Sampson, but was discontinued for lack of interest and support. Not a great deal of information is available concerning the Aurora Academy, or the Anson and Olney high schools in Eastern Quarter. The same is true for Edgerton's Academy and Cross Roads Academy in Contentnea Quarter.<sup>26</sup> These academies, now mostly forgotten, added much to the life and development of the Quaker experience. A statement made by Dr. Elbert Russell concerning his visit to the Corinth community in 1918 would be equally true of the other places where academies existed: "The Friends Academy and the Friends Meeting have produced a community markedly different . . . in culture and fineness of spirit."<sup>27</sup>

As reports to the yearly meeting indicate, the Baltimore Association was active in setting up both weekday and First-day schools for Negro children.<sup>28</sup> Year-by-year reports would be too extensive for this survey, but a few statements will indicate something of what was being done. At the close of 1866 this statement appears relative to First-day schools:

Friends in North Carolina have charge of or assist in teaching twenty First-day schools for colored persons with 1,165 pupils enrolled. This does not include schools under the care of the Freedman's Association.<sup>29</sup>

As to day schools, it was reported in 1868 that there were "thirty-one day schools for colored children nearly all under the care of Friends, with an enrollment of 1446." The same year J. W. Hood, Superintendent of the Freedmen's Association, said:

In educating the freedmen, the Friends are doing a work of praiseworthy benevolence. Without expectation of fee or reward; without attempting to teach the peculiar tenets of their faith . . . they are laboring to dispel the mist of ignorance which has so long hung over the colored people of the South. The Bible is introduced into all of their schools, but is read without comment . . .<sup>30</sup>

In the yearly meeting Minutes of 1870, J. M. Tomlinson, superintendent of Friends schools, reported: "I put into operation 14 schools for colored children, mostly in localities where they had not had much benefit from schools previous to these . . . It is our prospect to open 12 or 14 schools during the present month [November]."<sup>31</sup> The efforts of North Carolina Friends continued for some two decades, for there was little educational opportunity for Black children in the public school system for a long time. Their response to educational opportunities was, for the most part, that of eagerness: "In some instances [children were] walking from two to four miles . . . some having a meagre supply of food and very scantily clad . . ."<sup>32</sup>

During the four years when Dr. J. M. Thomlinson served as superintendent of Freedmen's Schools, he reported visiting schools at New Market (near Marlboro), Stout's Chapel (near Holly Spring), Rocky River, Providence, Back Creek, Buffalo Ford, Fentriss, Trinity, Deep Creek, New Bethel, South Fork, Centre and Dover.<sup>33</sup>

Of special significance is a statement in the Minutes for 1885:

A lot of land in the town of Asheboro containing eight acres, with a dwelling house and a good well of water, has been purchased for school purposes at a cost of \$325.00. This has been done with a view of making it a permanent school for the colored people . . .<sup>34</sup>

This school was put into operation "as soon as practicable." Apparently it was begun in cooperation with North Carolina Yearly Meeting, but most of the support and supervision was supplied by New York Friends, who "very kindly and liberally sustained this work. . . ." The school grew and flourished, as indicated by notes in



the yearly meeting Minutes in the following years. In 1891 it was moved to High Point and renamed the High Point Normal Industrial Institute. There it continued to grow, being the only educational opportunity for Blacks in the area. In 1920 it became a part of the public school system of High Point. It was renamed the William Penn High School around 1927.<sup>35</sup>

The work of the Freedmen's Association in establishing schools and providing educational opportunities for Negroes after the Civil War is a tremendous subject within itself, which will not be dealt with other than to mention the work of Yardley Warner in the south Greensboro area, which came to be known as Warnersville. When the English Friend, Henry S. Newman, visited this vicinity he spoke to a group of assembled residents, after being introduced by Dr. D. W. C. Benbow. The pastor of the local church offered a fervent prayer for the Society of Friends, quoted in part:

O Lord, they stood by us in the hour of our sorrow and distress and difficulty. . . . Dear Lord, stand by them now, and prosper them in all their efforts. They helped us and taught us when we did not know what to do . . . help them and give them good success in all that they are doing throughout the world for the welfare of their fellowmen.<sup>36</sup>

One interesting fact (not included in the yearly meeting Minutes) was mentioned by John Collins: "It was thought advisable by some to allow the singing of hymns in Freedmen's Schools."<sup>37</sup> This was quite a concession in 1869!

In 1871 the yearly meeting appointed a committee to cooperate with a similar committee from Baltimore Yearly Meeting for the purpose of appealing to the Congress of the United States "on behalf of the education of the children of the Southern States."<sup>38</sup> Obviously the major concern here was for Black children, as Friends themselves were providing for the education of their own children.

A recently published history states that when the members of the old Uwharrie Meeting in southwest Randolph County decided to construct a new building (precise date unknown), the old one was given to the Blacks for a school. This school was called Rocky Branch and was "the first school for Blacks in the county, and perhaps in the state." The first teacher was Abner Lewis. One of the first students, Isaac Walden, a slave of mixed parentage, was sent to school at Hampton, Virginia, by his "master."<sup>39</sup>

Unofficial individual efforts in supporting education for Blacks continued for many years. For example, John W. Woody held normal schools for "colored teachers" in Greensboro from 1885 to 1888. Later

he served as business manager for Slater Industrial and State Normal School for Negroes at Winston-Salem for nine years, 1899 to 1908. This school is now Winston-Salem University.)

Incidentally, it might be noted that Quaker meetings for worship did not especially appeal to the Negro population. These oppressed people naturally incorporated an element of escapism in their religion, as is clearly seen in their spirituals, such as "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot." Another element which they needed was social life; they wanted to forget their long days of drab labor in times of noisy entertainment and enjoyment. Both these elements were lacking in Quaker meetings.

So successful was the Baltimore Association in assisting North Carolina Friends in rebuilding their system of schools that in 1868 the Committee on Education could report as follows:

In taking a retrospective view of our condition three years ago when we were without schools, or any good schoolhouses, destitute of books and very little of means to help ourselves, the Baltimore Association came forward to our relief, and we now have 40 schools as above stated, all of them in good comfortable houses, well supplied with stoves, books, maps, and taught by competent teachers . . . We do thank our Heavenly Father for putting it into the hearts of dear friends in other yearly meetings thus to come to our aid.<sup>40</sup>

Fortunately, Francis T. King lived to see the fruits of his labors and to know that the timely assistance of concerned Friends had enabled North Carolina Yearly Meeting to survive. He rejoiced in the fact that "the number increased from 2,000 to 5,000 . . . in fifteen years." Through his solicitation, the American Bible Society donated five hundred Bibles and a thousand Testaments. A Book and Tract Society was set up in the yearly meeting, and made its first report in 1869.

On his last visit to North Carolina Yearly Meeting, Francis T. King expressed warm feelings of affection. The Minutes of 1881 note that he "made a very touching appeal to us to remain in the unity of the Spirit . . . and in a hopeful assurance of a brighter day for our Yearly Meeting."<sup>41</sup>

Long after his days of travel were past, his thoughts were still affectionately turned toward North Carolina. An extract from a letter was included in the Minutes of 1890:

My thoughts and prayers are with you at your Yearly Meeting. May the

Lord give you wisdom, grace and guidance, and blessing . . . May the future . . . as the past be marked by faithfulness to the doctrine and testimonies which have ever distinguished the Society of Friends, which has a high mission as a part of the Universal Church of Christ.<sup>42</sup>

Obviously the Baltimore Association did far more than supplying material aid to a people who had been impoverished by the ravages of war.<sup>43</sup> A tremendous process of reorientation was achieved. The prolonged period of isolation was ended. North Carolina Friends were ushered out into the mainstream of Quaker life and activity. Quietism gave way to energetic activism.

Unintentionally, perhaps, the leaders of the Baltimore Association were the prime instruments in bringing the revival movement into the state. These persons, especially Allen Jay, introduced an evangelistic approach which was new to North Carolina Friends, and which would have been unacceptable a generation earlier. He was a powerful preacher. Filled with zeal and enthusiasm, his evangelistic efforts, aided by others of similar religious fervor, brought a new orientation into the religious life of Carolina Quakers.

Along with this different attitude toward outreach came a new ecumenical perspective. Emphasis upon being a "peculiar people, separate and apart from the world," gave way to a sense of fellowship with other religious bodies. For the first time there was ecumenical cooperation, beginning with Sunday School conventions and the like.

The scientifically trained mind of Francis T. King redirected Quaker activities in terms of organizational efficiency. He could not tolerate slipshod, muddled procedures either in church affairs or in secular activities. Through the Model Farm, scientific agriculture was introduced in the state. He insisted on professional training for school teachers, and set in motion a program of teacher training institutes as a beginning in this direction. Racial integration had not yet come, but schools for Negro children were organized along with schools for white children. All of this was indicated in his own words: "We are building up a church in the South. . . . We want Friends to be pioneers in the new order of things, temporally as well as spiritually."

Having been "helped to their feet" at the close of the Civil War, North Carolina Friends assumed responsibility for helping themselves. When the Baltimore Association turned over all educational work to the yearly meeting in 1872, southern Friends were on their own again with reference to schools; but the Baltimore Association continued to aid the yearly meeting in other ways for many more years. It was not officially dissolved until 1891.



Just as soon as North Carolina Friends were able to do so, they began to think in terms of helping others. Having received material and spiritual assistance in an hour of critical need themselves, they remembered the Scriptural injunction, "Freely have you received, freely give." The newly revived meetings looked about them and saw great spiritual needs which they felt concerned to meet.

For three decades or more after the Civil War, there was a great lack of teachers, workers and ministers, as reflected in the yearly meeting Minutes. Typical of such statements is the one in the Minutes of 1885: "There are hundreds in the limits of our meetings who are perishing for lack of spiritual food which must be supplied."<sup>44</sup> A similar statement appears the following year: "We are . . . painfully conscious of our failure and inability to fully occupy the fields which are white already to harvest. From every direction the cry is heard, 'Come over and help us . . .'"<sup>45</sup>

Amazingly great doors of opportunity were opened to Carolina Friends following the Civil War. Alphaeus Briggs stated that during the period of Reconstruction in the South, Friends had the greatest opportunity in their history to spread their message.<sup>46</sup> He lamented the fact that maximum use of these amazing and unexpected opportunities was not made. He feared that Friends were unduly concerned about minor testimonies and traditions, such as forms of dress and speech, and the like.

The yearly meeting Minutes put it this way: "Our ministry is united and spiritual, but it is not equal to the field . . . not at all equal to the harvest." As one report put it, "All about us are families which have not been gathered in. Somewhat of a mission field lies around many of our Meetings . . . only partially occupied." The number of qualified ministers was growing, but not in proportion to existing needs. As late as 1900 for example, one monthly meeting reported five local meetings with a total membership of 365, and only one minister! Small wonder that two of these local meetings were soon laid down.

Friends began to see that the people needed spiritual help beyond that which might be received in one hour of worship each week, especially newcomers to the Society of Friends who understood little about Quaker principles, testimonies and practices. A proposition to hold "General Meetings" was officially approved by the yearly meeting in 1870. The official action taken by the yearly meeting was recorded as follows:

A proposition was made for holding General Meetings in various places within the limits of this Yearly Meeting, and after solid deliberations full unity was expressed and the following Friends were appointed in conjunction with a similar committee of women friends who were encouraged to attend thereto as way opens in the truth.<sup>47</sup>

This committee consisted of twenty-seven men and thirty-three women, representing all quarterly meetings and most local meetings.

The purpose of these meetings, which lasted two or three days, was to revive the spiritual life of meetings which were at a low ebb. There was preaching, prayer, and the exposition of the Quaker faith. According to the reports appearing in the yearly meeting Minutes during the next several years, these efforts were uplifting and constructive. A statement from the minutes of Eastern Quarterly Meeting in 1871 is as follows:

It was concluded to appoint a General Meeting, to be held at Piney Woods . . . the 24th, 25th and 26th of third month . . . Many Friends from beyond our limits were in attendance, and they were greatly favored in their expositions of the doctrines and practices of our Religious Society: much good is believed to have been done by their being brought together.<sup>48</sup>

Alphaeus Briggs expressed the conviction that these General Meetings added much to the spiritual life of the yearly meeting:

I recall being in some of these meetings in 1874-1875 with Isham Cox as the leading minister and I am sure that they were seasons of spiritual power that radiated throughout the community.<sup>49</sup>

In turn, Isham Cox in reporting on the General Meetings in 1874 lists the places where they were held, adding that these meetings were "seasons of Divine Favor, and we trust under the cementing influence of the Spirit of Christ . . . many souls were strengthened in the faith and hope of the Gospel . . ."<sup>50</sup> In the course of time these General Meetings became more evangelistic in nature, as will be noted later in connection with the revival movement.

Incidentally, night meetings came into the practice of North Carolina Friends at this time. In earlier years there is no mention of night meetings in rural situations, due to the difficulty of night travel and of lighting a meeting house with candles. In post-Civil War years kerosene lamps were fastened to the walls with brackets. These had tin reflectors behind them to keep the heat away from the wooden walls.

One physical evidence of the recovery of strength in North Carolina meetings is the fact that during the 1870s and 1880s more than half

of them built new meeting houses, or renovated old ones which had deteriorated during the war years when buildings had been neglected. According to Cartland, "They built 39 new meeting houses and repaired many old ones." To illustrate the condition of many post-war buildings, one small incident is mentioned. Allen Jay and a British Friend were visiting the Chatham Meeting in November, 1875. Glass for window panes was still quite expensive. An account follows:

It was a dark night . . . the wind blew keen from the North-East. The Meeting House was draughty, and the windows had less glass than usual. One of the Friends used his hat as a stop-gap in one, and I lent mine for another window; but a strong blast of wind sent both hats on the floor . . . They were fixed up stronger again, and we sat through the meeting to satisfaction . . .<sup>51</sup>

In the pre-war years some Carolina Quakers, finding farming rather unprofitable, became skilled craftsmen of various kinds — carpenters, cabinet-makers, millwrights, potters and the like. A few men established textile mills. George Newlin and George Guthrie built a cotton factory, as it was called, in Alamance County. George Mendenhall established a manufacturing enterprise on upper Deep River. Other Quaker-related textile mills on Deep River were at Worthville and High Falls, the latter being built by John W. Woody, Thomas Woody, and others.

In retrospect, one fact comes clearly into focus: North Carolina Quakers, with the assistance of the Baltimore Association, made an almost unbelievable recovery. In the process of recovering, they made an enormous contribution to the process of rebuilding that which had been destroyed during the war. Not only did they lead the way in rebuilding the school system of the state, they also aided in healing the wounds left by the conflict. Having kept themselves free from the unreasoning hatreds of war, they were in position to assume leadership in rebuilding the foundations of understanding and good will — all out of proportion of their numbers. The Quakers who had been reviled and persecuted became the benefactors of the people who had called them "cowardly traitors" during preceding years.

Friends were not ready for public office-holding, however. Just as they had wanted no part in the secessionist government, in similar fashion they could not feel free to become a part of the politics of the reconstruction period. This is understandable, of course, but it gives rise to a troublesome question of consistency. Friends have always



recognized the necessity of civil government. What about the responsibilities involved? The political and social problems in the South during reconstruction years were such that the Quaker witness for justice and nonviolent conflict resolution was desperately needed. The Sermon on the Mount states: "You are the light of the world; men do not light a candle and put it under a bushel!"

Comparative membership statistics for some American yearly meetings for the year 1884, almost two decades after the war, are of interest:<sup>52</sup>

North Carolina	4,936
Indiana	19,514
Western	12,466

The membership in North Carolina was still quite small in comparison with Indiana and Western, but it was growing in a healthy manner. Even so, perhaps no one had the slightest idea that a century later North Carolina would be the largest American yearly meeting. Among the different factors affecting this numerical growth was large families of children. In the Deep Creek community, according to a cemetery there, one family was doing its part. An epitaph reads: "Mary Fleming was born March 26, 1835 that had the four little infants all at one birth . . . Wife of Josiah V. Fleming."<sup>53</sup>

Southern Quakerism arose like a phoenix from the ashes of Civil War desolation. The new structure was different, however, in nature and orientation from that which had existed during the preceding two centuries. Great changes were occurring. These will be considered in following sections.

## Great Quaker Gatherings

During the formative years of the Society of Friends in England, severe persecutions tended to force Friends into a close fellowship. In colonial Carolina, severe persecutions did not exist, but a strong sense of fellowship, and consequent gregarious practices continued. Being a Quaker was the most important fact in life, much more so than national origin, or educational status. There was a strong gravitational pull toward one another, a strong sense of *belonging*. Consequently, Quaker gatherings, especially quarterly and yearly meetings, became notable occasions.

The scattered, isolated nature of many early meetings hampered family attendance at regional gatherings, but the number of members who did attend was amazingly large in spite of difficult travel conditions. These early Friends experienced two kinds of isolation. The first was geographical, which put long distances in the way. A second kind of isolation was a consciousness of being separate and apart from the greater part of the growing colonial population. Friends were not in harmony with the political atmosphere of the times, nor with the "frivolous diversions" around them. One avenue of release was open to them: socializing with one another "in the service of truth."

As to the growing population, most were honorable people, but an increasing number of convicted felons who had been banished to the colonies were arriving in America, and Carolina was receiving its share of them. In accordance with British laws enacted in 1718 and 1720, some 50,000 were sent. Colonials did not like this policy. When Benjamin Franklin went to England to protest, he was told that this action was necessary to protect the "social comfort" of England!<sup>1</sup> In addition, it seems that a rather large number of people who were running away from law and order in the older colony of Virginia were finding their way into Carolina. Small wonder that the Quakers developed a strong clannish feeling! And they were not alone in this regard. Other groups had similar attitudes. The Highland Scots, the Germans (especially the Moravians) and others, wanted to be left

alone. They wanted to fashion their lives according to their own ideals.

Early Quaker gatherings involved overnight accommodations, but this posed no real problem. Quaker homes were havens of hospitality. Guests were received with anticipation and eagerness. Having Friends to stay overnight was considered a high privilege, not an inconvenience. The best of everything was offered. Sharing was limited only by humble circumstances.

Home accommodations were not always luxurious, but minor discomforts were of small importance. Indoor plumbing was mostly unknown for the first two centuries.<sup>2</sup> Guest rooms were rarely heated, but a brazier filled with coals from the fireplace moved around between the sheets made going to bed in a cold room just a little less uncomfortable. Everyone should remember the remark of the Quaker hostess who said to a guest upon retiring, "Now if thee needs something and can't find it, just come to me and I'll tell thee how to get along without it."<sup>3</sup>

As to long distances, in Eastern Carolina for the first half-century or more, Friends came to quarterly meetings from four different counties, and to yearly meeting from three different states — North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. Meetings were widely scattered, and travel to these events from the farthestmost points took several days. When yearly meeting sessions were first held at New Garden, Perquimans Friends took six days to make the journey of 240 miles, riding forty miles each day.

Appointments to quarterly meeting or to yearly meeting were not taken lightly. Representatives who did not attend were expected to give satisfactory reasons for their absence. Much of the time at yearly meeting the names of representatives were called at the beginning of each business meeting.<sup>4</sup>

For several years, yearly meeting convened for only one day. As the number of Friends increased, and as more business items came up for consideration, the yearly meeting lasted two days — then three or four; finally a whole week. In the early years there was only one business session each day. This began at ten o'clock and lasted until two o'clock, sometimes longer. The crude benches had no backs for some of these years, as mentioned earlier. It is small wonder that Friends were admonished to "refrain from all unnecessary goings and comings" during this extended time. (Incidentally, no records have been found which precisely designated the limits of "necessary.") Great sympathy is expressed for restless children, and for older people with certain physical afflictions! The sessions continued so long that



there was no midday repast — only two meals a day.

Each day committees were appointed for various purposes. These generally met in the late afternoons. The most amazing fact about these committees was the *size* of them, sometimes as many as twenty, thirty, or even forty persons (actual count from the Minutes) were appointed to perform tasks such as writing the Epistle, or Minute of Advice, or preparing returning minutes for visiting Friends. Occasionally as many as twenty-five or thirty people were appointed to *nominate* a committee, perhaps in the absence of a standing nominating committee.

Young Friends attended quarterly and yearly meeting sessions in great numbers — not altogether as religious gatherings, but more importantly to them, as social occasions. During these times of getting acquainted, romances flourished. The Quaker cupid was alert and busy. These social opportunities for young Friends may have been of greater importance to the Society of Friends than some of the items of business being transacted by the older people.

For some strange reason, young Friends seemed to prefer the back seats in the meeting house. Older Friends noticed this, and also the fact that there was “communication” between the two sides of the room when the shutters were open. Small wonder that in 1828 the yearly meeting advised that young people “be not suffered to sit too much in companies in the back part of the meeting house without having some solid Friend or two to sit with them.”<sup>5</sup> At yearly meeting time, even the most austere elders could not prevent fleeting glances from the boys, nor flashing eyes beneath Quaker bonnets on the other side of the building.

For almost a hundred years, 1698 to 1786, yearly meeting was held in Perquimans County or Pasquotank County — at Sutton’s Creek, Old Neck, Symons’s Creek, or some other meeting. As greater numbers of Friends settled in the Piedmont, a decision was made to hold the sessions at Centre Meeting in 1787 and 1789. The intervening session was held at Wells Meeting in Perquimans County. From 1790 to 1813, yearly meeting alternated between New Garden and Symon’s Creek, or Little River. From 1813 to 1882, sessions were held at New Garden, with the exception of 1880, when one yearly meeting was held at Friendsville, Tennessee.

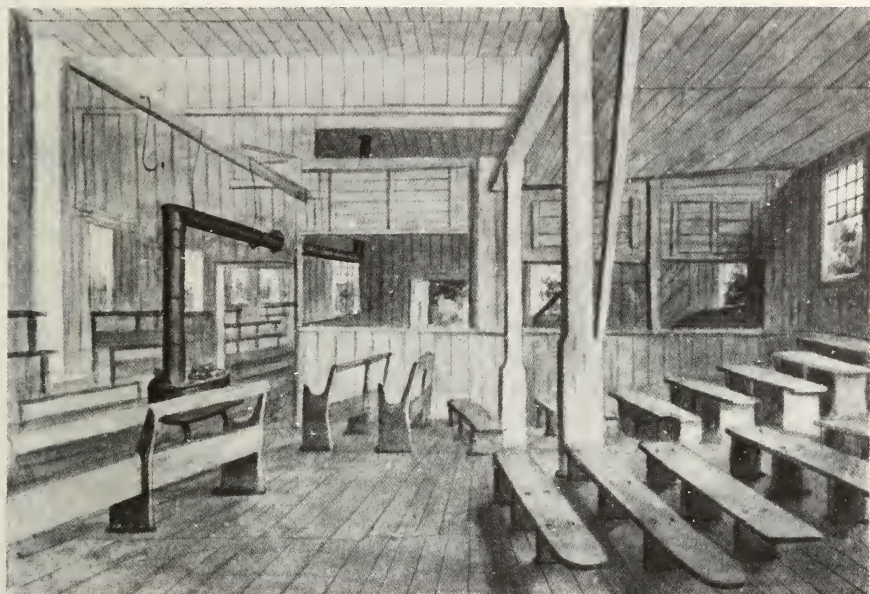
Apparently the decision to meet at New Garden regularly was made on the basis of the preponderance of membership in the piedmont section of the state, following the great migration of Friends

*Symons Creek**Centre*

into this area during the three decades preceding the Revolutionary War. The old New Garden meeting house (second building) which was built in 1754 was not nearly large enough. A cooperative arrangement was worked out between the yearly meeting and New Garden Meeting for the construction of a building which was located in the south area of the present cemetery. This is the large meeting house which is most often seen in pictures today — constructed in 1791. As was necessary in that day, a rail fence enclosed the cemetery. Cattle, especially hogs which ran free in the woods, had to be kept out of the enclosed area. This cooperative use of the old New Garden meeting house continued until a yearly meeting house was built in 1872, located where the College Library now stands. This new building was used for yearly meeting purposes for the next ten years.

Most people attending yearly meeting found it necessary to pack trunks of clothes and boxes of food, and even feed for the horses when wagons were used. When train travel became possible for some,





*Interior of the 1791 Meeting House at New Garden where Yearly Meeting met until 1872. Note the raised shutters and benches without backs. From a painting by John Collins, 1869.*

trunks of necessary supplies were still required. Overnight accommodations were not available for all the people who came. When sessions were held at New Garden (in November) the students at the boarding school were sent home for the week, and all available space was utilized. Statements by John Collins (1869) are descriptive:

Late in the evening a visit was paid to Friends lodging in the cellar [basement] of the school house [New Garden Boarding School] . . . It was thought that about 300 persons were accommodated in the building during part of the Yearly Meeting. Every nook, closet, room, entry and corner appeared to be occupied.<sup>6</sup>

This building was designed to accommodate fifty students!

Although the weather in November was often very cold, many people camped out, sleeping in tents or in their wagons, cooking their simple meals over open fires — and trying to stay warm. The boarding school charged only one dollar per day for room and meals, but for a poor family of six or eight this was prohibitive.

Walter Robson, an English Friend who visited North Carolina



Yearly Meeting in 1877 described the surrounding scene:

It is a curious sight at the close of an evening meeting to see all around at little distances, in the darkness, the bright glare of the camp fires telling of families of Friends attending Y. Meeting.<sup>7</sup>

On Yearly Meeting Sunday (First-day) when the great crowds were present, Robson described the surroundings in this manner:

Outside was a curious sight — vehicles of all sorts drawn by horses, mules & donkeys & *one* by a very fine Ox, filled the space all round the house, as thousands of people poured in, some by special trains, but many in their own conveyances. At 11 o'clk began the meeting — one outside & the house crowded. It is estimated to hold nearly two thousand . . . & extra seats brought in. In the galleries were a group of Black people, the men with their wooly heads, the negresses with jaunty looking hats & dresses of the gayest conceivable colours.<sup>8</sup>

In general, Robson formed a favorable impression of North Carolina Friends. The evangelistic movement had greatly affected the yearly meeting, but it was considerably more sedate and orderly than those he had attended in the Midwest. Furthermore, no painful divisions and separations were occurring, such as he had observed in Ohio, Iowa, and Indiana. Naturally, he was distressed by the post-Civil War poverty still prevailing, and the lack of educated leadership resulting from the lack of adequate schools in previous years. Conscious of the fact that British Friends were disturbed by the revivalistic tendencies among Carolina Friends, he wrote: "I would have liked all my dear ones . . . to hear all the efforts of these dear Friends in setting up meetings, establishing schools & preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ. It is wonderful when we consider how this Y. Meeting was almost ruined & decimated by the Civil War . . ."<sup>9</sup>

As to his accommodations, he wrote: "Through the very kind thoughtfulness of J. B. Braithwaite, who knows that we Englishmen do not like sleeping three in a bed, I am housed at Jonathan Cox's . . ."<sup>10</sup>

Robson tells of being invited to an unofficial gathering of men and women ministers after the sessions of yearly meetings, where they had "much interesting converse & some very amusing anecdotes from Allen Jay and Rufus King." Still later in the evening, "One brought out a teapot and cooked some tea, another produced some roast chestnuts, another some biscuits [cookies] & a fourth some apples, & we all had a feast."<sup>11</sup> What an occasion that must have been!

As early as 1869 when John and Rebecca Collins attended yearly meeting, a great many people boarded the train at Goldsboro, still

more at Raleigh and at Company Shops (now Burlington). The Collinses were "gratified by the cordiality of their manners," and much interested in what these Friends had to say about the condition of the Society in North Carolina. Apparently there was a genial time of visiting "on the cars." The train reached Greensboro about midnight, and John and Rebecca Collins stayed in the Southern Hotel rather than traveling the "rough and snaggy road" to New Garden at night. In the morning they "rode to New Garden in a hack."<sup>12</sup>

Understandably, the artist John Collins was much impressed by the great oak tree in the New Garden cemetery which stood as sentinel over the graves of Revolutionary soldiers who were buried there after the Battle of New Garden and the Battle of Guilford Court House. Said Collins:

High above them stands a majestic white oak that may have braved the storms of a hundred winters, its massive boughs reaching far out as if to shield from sun and rain the lonely graves. This noble oak tree is 130 feet from side to side of its outmost branches, and is five feet in diameter.<sup>13</sup>

This great oak tree, which became something of a heritage for all North Carolina Friends, went down in a storm in 1959, having grown much larger in the intervening century.

John Collins tells of a meeting of the Bible and Tract Society in which "a subscription of \$47.46 was taken up and a committee appointed to collect more." In this collection, someone placed a Confederate note for \$500. "The worthless paper was handed to a Friend from the North." Some evangelistic meetings for young people were held. One year, at least, the Baltimore Association held a special meeting to consider improved methods of agriculture — something greatly needed for farmers who were tilling impoverished soil.

Stanley Pumphrey was an English Friend who visited the yearly meeting sessions in 1875. His descriptive account, along with those of Walter Robson and John Collins, furnish some insight as to what a day at yearly meeting was like:

The usual order of the meetings throughout the week was at half-past eight in the morning, for prayer, confession, and religious enquiry. At ten o'clock the yearly meeting sat down for business until two o'clock. In the afternoon various committees were held, and in the evening a conference on some special subject.

Pumphrey's description of his arrival in the New Garden area is enlightening. Apparently he rode on the train from Greensboro to the place where the Guilford station would be built later. At that time it

was only a "stop" on the line westward.

We were finally turned out with our baggage on the line in the middle of a wood and after a little reconnoitering found a wagon that was ready to take our belongings to New Garden while we tramped. . . . New Garden is a school house in the middle of the woods. The large Meeting House lately erected stands nearby, but there is no other house in sight.<sup>14</sup>

Being accustomed to comfortable accommodations, Stanley Pumphrey was hardly prepared for the hardships which he encountered:

Our lodging room is fitted up for six friends and has one jug and bason and soap dish as the complement of earthen ware . . . Everyone speaks of the great advance . . . since the war, but the Yearly Meeting presents the appearance of . . . small farmers and agricultural laborers.<sup>15</sup>

During the late decades of the nineteenth century, such crowds of people (both Friends and non-Friends) were coming to yearly meeting on Sunday that a special committee was appointed to "have the care of the meeting for worship on First-day." The hour of worship was "not so quiet and satisfactory as desirable," and the following action was taken:

In view of the desecration of the First day of the week by the large, restless crowds brought in by the railroads, drawn hither by our Yearly Meeting, we would petition the railroad not to issue rates on that day.<sup>16</sup>

Apparently "excursion rates" from Winston-Salem and other places were offered by the railroad. People living in the Piedmont could not go to the beach nor to the mountains in one day, and the Quaker Yearly Meeting became a place to go for many non-Friends who had no religious interest in the occasion. To this day, older Friends tell of the time when three simultaneous worship services were held on yearly meeting Sunday: one in the meeting house, and, when meeting at New Garden, one in Memorial Hall, and another in the open air under the trees.<sup>17</sup>

Quarterly meetings were great events in some sections of the state. These were three-day affairs, beginning with a meeting on Ministry and Oversight on Friday afternoon, followed by a general business meeting on Saturday. On Sunday after the meeting house was filled to capacity some well-known preacher such as Rufus King would stand in the back of a wagon under the trees and speak to the crowd of people who gathered around.





*Yearly Meeting House at High Point, 1883-1904*

Not only at quarterly meetings and yearly meetings did large crowds assemble. When some noted visiting Friend came into a local community, particularly in the later years of the nineteenth century, people came from far and near. One random account will illustrate this fact. Following the yearly meeting of 1875, Stanley Pumphrey, accompanied by Allen Jay, visited the Up River Meeting where the building was filled to overflowing, the largest crowd ever to assemble there. He wrote:

There were something like forty [babies] under two years old. To speak in a close and over-heated atmosphere . . . so as to drown the voices of a score or two of babies, is hard upon the lungs, and I had to stop and beg for air.<sup>18</sup>

North Carolina was not the only state where there were problems with great crowds on yearly meeting Sunday. For example, when Walter Robson visited Western Yearly Meeting before coming on to North Carolina in 1877, he estimated that there were "over 10,000 people on the meetinghouse grounds."

Many only come for the spree of the thing, but I trust some "who come to scoff, remain to pray." At 2 o'clock, the great meetinghouse was again filled. I took my place on the preaching stand . . . I spoke to an

audience of some 5,000.<sup>19</sup>

Robson noted that the little town of Plainfield, Indiana, looked like a country fair. "Stalls for refreshments (all teetotal) were well supplied & patronized." For a British Friend, the summer heat was severe. "I am in almost constant drip, day & night & am glad of the thinnest garments I possess . . ."

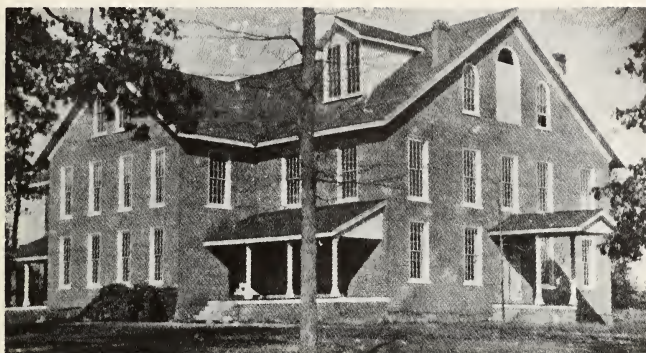
Later in North Carolina Yearly Meeting, although many other visiting Friends were present, it seems that Robson preached a great deal. His diary indicates that on Sunday he spoke for about half an hour at the early morning meeting. Then at the 11:00 service "I rose and preached for 1 & 1/4 hours." In the afternoon service he preached for an hour; in the evening Dr. Benbow took him to Greensboro where he preached to a "large and interesting congregation, greatly increased by about 200 young women & girls from a College nearby . . ."<sup>20</sup> Four sermons in one day!

Traveling around and visiting meetings later in November, he wrote concerning his stay in the Chatham community: "Our quarters were humble. Washing out of doors with thermometer at twelve degrees was a rather chilly experience." In spite of all the privations encountered, he was impressed by the spiritual quality of Carolina Friends, commenting, "I have been received with unvarying kindness."

As North Carolina Friends began to recover more fully from the devastation of the Civil War they realized that a level of education more advanced than that furnished by New Garden Boarding School was needed. Francis T. King and others came to the conclusion that a new school should be constructed at High Point, since this seemed to be the growing center of Quakerism in the state. Other Friends, particularly those in the New Garden vicinity, took the position that the existing school there should be expanded and developed into an institution of higher learning, rather than starting a new school at High Point.

After a time of indecision and some debate, a surprising solution was reached. A committee appointed in 1881 recommended that the yearly meeting construct a new building at High Point for its own purposes, and donate the building constructed in 1827 to New Garden Boarding School to be remodeled for classrooms and other purposes.<sup>21</sup> This recommendation was approved by the trustees of the Boarding School and by the Baltimore Association the following year, 1882.<sup>22</sup>





*Yearly Meeting House on the campus of New Garden Boarding School 1872-1882. Later, King Hall.*



*Yearly Meeting met here 1912-1960  
Dana Auditorium, below*





Planning began immediately, but some time was taken up by preliminaries. A new yearly meeting house was constructed in High Point in 1882, located in what was then called Quaker Woods, an area bounded by the present Lindsay, Westwood, and Locke streets. Yearly Meeting sessions were held in this location until 1904. The time of holding yearly meeting sessions was changed from November to August in 1883, when sessions were first held in High Point.

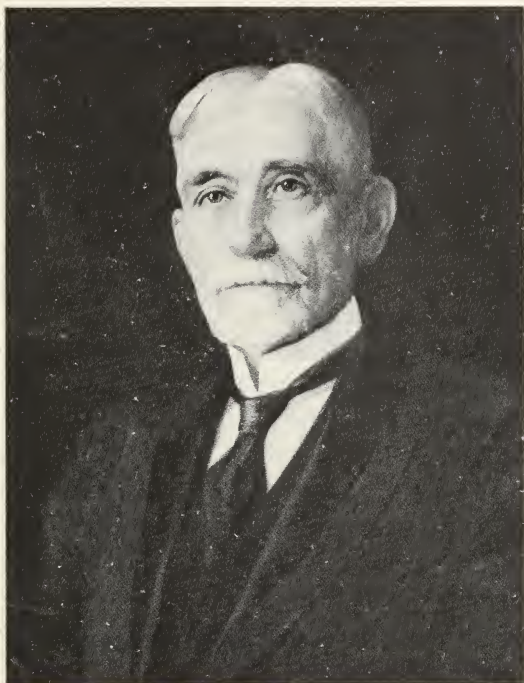
Apparently the High Point location was a satisfactory meeting place, other than for the lack of overnight accommodations and dining facilities. At any rate, a decision was made to move the yearly meeting sessions back to the Guilford College area. Sessions were held in Memorial Hall until the yearly meeting in cooperation with New Garden completed construction of a new meeting house in 1912. This building has now become a part of the Guilford campus, and is called New Garden Hall. It houses the administrative offices of the college.

Yearly meeting sessions were first held in the newly completed Dana Auditorium on the Guilford campus in 1961, and have convened there until the present, except for a few sessions held in the Sternberger Auditorium in Founders Hall. The dormitory and dining facilities of the College are a great convenience to Friends attending yearly meeting sessions.

Apparently North Carolina Friends have had a notable succession of clerks, beginning with Gabriel Newby to the present day (see Appendix). As to length of service, Lewis Lyndon Hobbs was outstanding. He was appointed as clerk in 1886, serving almost continuously until 1928, a total of forty-two years. In 1929 he was absent for the first time in fifty-three years. Samuel Haworth was appointed to succeed him. A fitting tribute to Dr. Hobbs was written by Alpheus Briggs:

Few if any have equaled him in quiet dignity and fairness in reaching a conclusion that would unite a difference of opinion or settle a controversy to the satisfaction of all.<sup>23</sup>

Special tribute should be paid to recording clerks also. Quite often these persons labored at the desk as arduously as presiding clerks, and with responsibilities almost as great. These persons were expected to produce "instant Quaker minutes," to be read and approved during the session. For a century or more the presiding clerk wrote the minutes, then read them aloud for approval. No dates have been



*Lewis Lyndon Hobbs*

located as to when recording clerks were first used. The old custom prevailed in some local meetings as late as 1925. Producing clear and accurate wording for important decisions was far from easy. On the whole, this work has been well done. Once in a while an unintended meaning has crept in. For example, one committee reported that nothing had been accomplished during the preceding year — “which was satisfactory to this meeting. . . .” On another occasion the clerk announced that he would be away for one day — “of which this meeting approves. . . .” As to committee assignments, one of the most interesting (and impossible) was to “remove all deficiencies from among us.” This occurs quite a few times in yearly meeting Minutes.

With new facilities for long-distance travel, recent years have become a time of great national and international conferences. For North Carolina Friends the greatest Quaker gathering of all time was the Fourth Friends World Conference held at Guilford College, July 24 to August 3, 1967. (Previous World Conferences had been held in London in 1920, at Swarthmore College in 1937, and at Oxford, England in 1952.) There were nine hundred official delegates, with

some four hundred other Friends who gathered at the campus of the nearby University of North Carolina at Greensboro. Friends were in attendance from all over the world — thirty-eight different countries, including far away places such as Australia and New Zealand.

J. Floyd Moore served as the chairman of the planning committee for the entire conference. Algie and Eva Newlin arranged a visitation weekend in which the delegates visited local meetings across the state. This gave visiting Friends a chance to become acquainted in a personal way with North Carolina Friends.

The most outstanding single event of the conference was a public gathering at the Greensboro Coliseum when some eight thousand people listened to addresses by the Quaker leader Douglas Steere, and U Thant, Secretary General of the United Nations. Incidentally, worldwide Friends would not come to the Guilford campus for this gathering until the College had integrated its student body.<sup>24</sup>

The first chapter in this book closed with a few glimpses of early Carolina Quakers as others saw them. An account of the Fourth World Conference of Friends as reported by Joe Knox in the *Greensboro Daily News* (August 6, 1967) has become something of a classic, and is repeated in part as follows:

Just who did they think they were, anyway, this handful of presumptuous people, assuming responsibility for sufferers of all the calculated cruelties people inflict on people?

Why, there are more Baptists in North Carolina alone than Quakers in all the world!

During the days I met with them to report on a very few of their doings, I came to see them as a small band of conspirators, sensitive, well-informed, articulate, extraordinarily intelligent, tough-minded, opinionated, fussing among themselves to live their preachments, needing the conscience of the world to be about the Sermon on the Mount.

. . . One small measure of their worldwide prestige was the appearance of U Thant . . . They invited him. He accepted. Could Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists or whosoever have gotten him to Greensboro? Would they have thought to ask? Would they have wanted him?

A fundamental preachment is that the way one lives must reflect the Christian way in all things. "Let your lives speak." That's a tough one to abide, and perhaps accounts, in part, for their small numbers.

In our day, it just won't do, loving a neighbor as you love yourself . . .



It occurred to me that these Quakers must be dreadfully embarrassing to Christians.

They must also be embarrassing to governments who surely wish they would just hush up and go away . . .

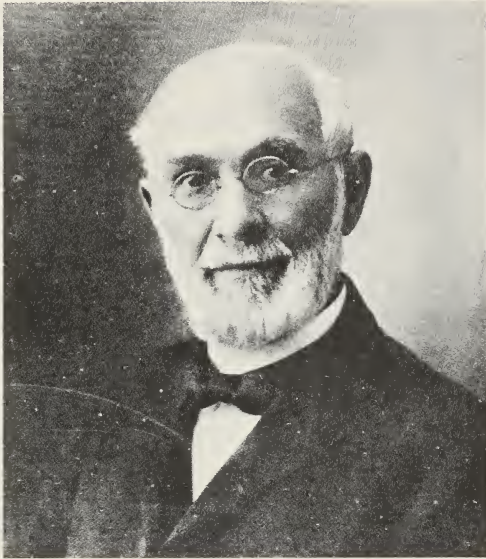
## *The Revival Movement*

The great revival movement of the nineteenth century came to North Carolina somewhat belatedly on account of the Civil War. Before this time, however, various events had been preparing the way. The coming of Joseph John Gurney to America in 1837 and his visits among Friends had stimulated Bible study and created evangelistic concern. The long quietistic period was gradually coming to an end. To a great extent Gurney was the leader of this development among American Friends.

Joseph John Gurney, brother of Elizabeth Fry, was a British Friend of great ability and great persuasive power in preaching. He represented the new evangelical movement among English Friends. Naturally many individuals in North Carolina viewed his work with some uneasiness, even opposition. Most Midwestern Friends accepted his preaching with great enthusiasm. His influence in North Carolina was considerable, although the evangelistic movement was mostly delayed until post-Civil War days.

The revival movement, led by David Updegraff and others swept through the Midwest during the 1860s.<sup>1</sup> There was hymn-singing, evangelistic preaching and altar calls — all innovations in the Society of Friends. Naturally there were different reactions to this movement. Cleavages, and eventually separations, occurred. Many sincere Friends feared that the Society was fast becoming just another Protestant denomination, and thus losing its primary purpose for being. Other individuals, while maintaining a strong attachment to the Quaker faith, believed that the new methods were of great value in holding young people, and in reaching non-members in the community.

The revival movement came into North Carolina later in a modified form, without most of the excesses and extremes which had characterized the movement in the Midwest. It began in various Carolina communities in different ways, of course, but there was a surprising connection between the revival movement and the work of the Baltimore Association, not only in terms of the specific years



*Allen Jay*

involved, but also in terms of leadership. An account from the life of Allen Jay will make this clear.

While Allen Jay was stationed in the Springfield community directing the work of the Baltimore Association, the Methodists were holding a revival meeting at Trinity, some three miles away. Quite a few young people from the Springfield Meeting were attending, and there was great concern lest they be lost to Friends through being "carried away" by the revival in progress. Allen Jay, as he records in his *Autobiography*, went over to see what he could do to "save our young people to our own church." Jay was invited to sit on the platform, which he did. During the following two weeks many young people from the Springfield community professed faith in Jesus Christ. From each of these Allen Jay obtained a promise that they would stay with Friends. (A similar revival was held soon thereafter in the Caraway school house, not far away.)

The interest was such that Allen Jay told the Meeting on Ministry and Oversight at Springfield that he believed it would be right to "hold some meetings at our meeting-house, if they were willing." Consent was given, and a revival began which lasted for ten days. The attendance was large, and there were many conversions.<sup>2</sup> "We kept all our members and added some thirty new ones to our meeting," he wrote.



The pastors of the various churches in nearby High Point came as a group to the home of Allen Jay right away, and asked him to hold a series of union services in town. Jay agreed, if they would work together in harmony and leave off their controversies. The largest church building in town was selected as the meeting place, which was filled to overflowing. This series of meetings lasted for thirty-one nights, and "some one hundred and fifty professed to have found their Saviour in the pardon of their sins. At the close the converts joined the churches according to their own personal wishes."<sup>3</sup> Since the High Point Friends Meeting had not been established at this time, about fifty members were received at Springfield.

Friends in other vicinities, while not duplicating the dramatic effects and results recounted above, began scheduling general meetings "as the way opened." The term general meetings was used for a long time, as it was more acceptable than revivals. Opposition began to develop, and the "full unity" which accompanied earlier general meetings ceased to exist.

By whatever name and under whatever form, the revival movement was coming into North Carolina. It was thus described by Alphaeus Briggs:

Allen Jay, Isham Cox, Mary C. Woody, Albert Peele and others . . . opened the way for Mary Moon, an evangelist from Indiana, who came to the Yearly Meeting in 1877. Mary Moon was of the advanced type of Evangelist then common in the west and advocated singing and altar services . . . Her efforts were opposed in practically all the meetings by most of the older members . . . The evident results of these meetings soon convinced many . . . that it was of the Lord . . .<sup>4</sup>

Mary Moon (Meredith) was obviously a powerful and persuasive preacher in a day when women preachers were unusual in some parts of the state. She was regarded by many as the greatest evangelist of her time. When she held a series of services in a Methodist Church in Winston-Salem, "She stirred North Carolina as never before." Contemporary reports stated that crowds of five thousand came to hear her.<sup>5</sup> From among her many meetings with Friends this account comes from the Science Hill community:

In the summer of 1892, Mary Moon, A Friends minister from Indiana, came to the community with a concern for religious work. A series of evangelistic services was held. There was a great spiritual awakening, such as this section of the country had not known . . . There was a felt need for a Friends church in which they might worship, and thus this band of Friends set themselves to the task of constructing a meeting



*Mary Moon, left, of Winchester, Indiana, and Mary Myers of Wilmington, Ohio*

house in which we worship today.<sup>6</sup>

The evangelistic work of Mary Moon (Meredith) in North Carolina caused an enormous amount of controversy. In newspapers from Virginia to South Carolina, both editorials and letters-to-the-editor took up the question of whether it was right for women to preach. In a scrapbook of newspaper clippings collected by a daughter, Nellie Moon Taylor, this controversy is reflected. One of the milder editorials entitled "Female Preachers" began: "We are glad to see that the Conference held at Statesville, North Carolina, (1879) passed a resolution against women preachers. It strikes us that no one can read the New Testament through without being impressed with the idea that females are forbidden to preach . . ." Some letters from readers expressed violent outrage at the idea of women preachers. Others argued in favor of it. *The Henderson Review* expressed the hope that "the citizens will extend to her a Christian Welcome instead of opposition." The claim that Mary Moon Meredith "added a thousand members to the Methodist Church" seems rather exaggerated — until one reads these newspaper accounts of her successful evangelistic campaigns.<sup>7</sup>

About the same time Louisa Painter from Iowa and James R. Jones from Ohio began evangelistic work in the yearly meeting, and both stayed for long periods of service. James R. Jones rendered service for forty-six years among North Carolina Friends, such as few have equaled. Fernando Cartland and his wife Ablein (Abbie) came from Maine, and David Sampson and his family came from England, all engaging in evangelistic endeavors. David Sampson's second wife was Sarah (Sallie) Marshburn, originally from Cane Creek.

This list of capable, dedicated workers in the yearly meeting during the early years of the movement indicates the good fortune of North Carolina in having leadership of the highest quality, as contrasted with wildfire elements which had appeared in other places. Of course a few less-than-desirable revivalists did cause some disruptions; but this was occasional and exceptional.

The revival movement brought large numbers of "Friends by conviction" (conversion) into the various meetings. The membership grew from less than two thousand at the close of the Civil War to more than five thousand by 1883 — in spite of the great number who left for the West during the same period. These new people, many with little or no Friends background, wanted singing, evangelistic preaching, and other innovations which caused great concern to the older members in most communities. Some Friends feared that these "departures" indicated a general drift toward a pastoral system. At any rate, the yearly meeting appointed its first Evangelistic Committee in 1882, which reported "gratifying results."<sup>8</sup>

In 1884 the Evangelism Committee reported that two or three ministers were laboring in this kind of work most of the year, along with "six or seven from other yearly meetings." Thirty-six series of meetings had been held, with "621 professions."<sup>9</sup>

Just how did all this affect the students at the New Garden Boarding School? Perhaps no one could speak more clearly than did Dorothy Gilbert (Thorne):

During the war and immediately after it, a renaissance came to Quakerism. . . . At New Garden [Boarding School] emphasis was laid on religious conviction of students, and according to George Hartley, very few left the institution without having had a religious experience . . . . In 1877 the trustees appealed to the parents thus: "Friends especially should spare no means to have their children's minds stored with useful knowledge and their hearts filled with the love of our Lord Jesus Christ and fully established in His Gospel as we understand it. . . ." Reports of the early eighties speak of the prayer meetings held by students and teachers: thus the school shared abundantly in the



awakening of North Carolina Quakerism. Genuine religious feeling and carefree joy — both must be recognized as characteristic of the spirit of the late seventies at New Garden.<sup>10</sup>

Not everyone shared this positive, optimistic feeling. Some Friends sincerely believed that basic Quaker testimonies were being seriously eroded. Of special interest is the evaluation of Francis T. King, one of the greatest benefactors North Carolina Friends ever had. The following quotation is taken from a letter written to Thomas Bewley, an Irish Friend:

Three hundred to four hundred (additional) members a year in past ten years — it is a new thing in our day, but your William Edmundson did just such work as this in North Carolina about two centuries ago, among just such people and the work stood, even through the fire of slavery and war — it was the Lord's work then, and we believe it to be His now.<sup>11</sup>

An Indiana Friend who was a little uncertain about the revival movement was quoted as saying of the evangelist, "I cannot work like this dear Friend; but he is doing the Lord's work. He is my brother, and I love him."<sup>12</sup>

The report of the Evangelism Committee for 1890 contains strong pleas for the support of evangelistic endeavors:

I believe we still have a great in-gathering in this State. But the opportunity God gives a church runs out in time, and then the church that has been slothful and inept awakes to find that others have reaped the harvest. Mistaken scruples appear to have blocked the path of progress in the past, but I trust these errors of judgment are now melting away.<sup>13</sup>

This report quotes statements made by Henry S. Newman to the secretary of the committee at the conclusion of his second extended period of service among North Carolina meetings, as follows:

Some of the intelligent young people are losing heart and giving up attending meetings, because there is no ministry, or very little, and that only at the fag end of the long sittings, and they feel that they must go elsewhere for food for their souls. A magnificent opportunity has been given to Friends since the war in North Carolina and only to a limited extent have we made use of it.<sup>14</sup>

Stanley Pumphrey was quoted as saying, "give us good Quaker preachers . . . and you could soon have two-thirds of the people."<sup>15</sup> This may have been an exaggeration, but at least it was one worker's observation.

Conditions and circumstances varied from one community to

another, and there was no uniform, consistent pattern which held true in all situations. The revival movement affected some meetings very little, and others quite profoundly.

A number of questions arise. How many individuals were reached who would not have been reached without these special efforts? What fundamental spiritual values were lost or eroded in this departure from older Friends customs? These and other basic questions are difficult to answer. Obviously some extremists were out of harmony with Quaker practices, while other sincere individuals labored earnestly and sacrificially to reach needy people with the redeeming message of God's love.

In the opinion of some Friends, one of the great shortcomings of the revival movement was the narrow doctrinal dogmatism of some evangelists. These occasional zealous "soul winners" would not tolerate different scriptural interpretations. Some of them endeavored to speak with absolute authority, taking it upon themselves not only to define sound doctrine, but also to pass judgment upon the soundness of other ministers and teachers. The essential element of charity was sometimes lost.

In general, the theology of the revival movement in North Carolina tended to follow, in modified form, the doctrines propounded by the well known evangelists of the nineteenth century, Dwight L. Moody and others. These doctrines were not altogether out of harmony with Quaker faith. Rather, the *emphasis* was different. Great stress was placed upon the concept that man is a fallen and ruined being, devoid of spiritual capacity, totally depraved and separated from God. Compassionate love and social service were not denied, but largely neglected. "Fleeing from the wrath to come" was paramount. A conversion experience was set forth as the prime necessity of life.

Some of the early forerunners of this doctrinal point of view who came to North Carolina were Mary Dudley, Thomas Shillitoe, Rebecca Jones, David Sands, and Stephen Grellet.<sup>16</sup> Joseph John Gurney was somewhat different in his approach, but could be listed with those who were breaking away from the old quietistic perspective.

All of these persons are of great interest, but especially so is Mary Dudley, of England. In young life she was a close friend of John Wesley, who tried very hard to keep her from joining the Society of Friends.<sup>17</sup> Her evangelistic passion and natural ability caused her to be a powerful influence. She introduced a new element into the Quaker preaching of her day. Of similar nature was Rebecca Jones of Philadelphia, a former Episcopalian. These charming and capable women

exerted a far greater influence upon the Society of Friends than was realized at the time. They dwelt upon the “original fall of man” and his degenerate nature, which caused him to be “totally dependent upon the mercy and goodness of God through Christ.”<sup>18</sup>

Along with the revival movement came the so-called Holiness movement, which set forth the doctrine that in addition to conversion, a second definite work of grace — sanctification — was necessary. In everyday language, this was called “the second blessing.” It seems that this doctrine was an adaptation of the early Wesleyan teaching concerning Christian perfection. In essence, proponents of this interpretation of the Christian experience claimed that the person who had thus received the baptism of the Holy Spirit subsequent to his initial entry into the Christian life could live above all sin — and even above all temptation. This commendable desire to live a holy life was not always accompanied with charitable attitudes toward other Friends who did not thus divide the essential Christian spiritual experience into two parts. Considerable controversy erupted in many instances, with lamentable consequences. The overall Holiness movement continued well into the early decades of the twentieth century.

One commendable element in the revival movement was the fact that concern for the “lost sheep” began to broaden, so as to include all people who needed the Christian Gospel. Friends in the Midwest began talking in terms of *missions*, and North Carolina Quakers began to think in similar terms, as indicated by the Minutes of 1873:

The subject of Missionary Labor was introduced to us at this time, and the Meeting appoints the following Friends . . . to unite with a similar committee of Women Friends in a full consideration of the subject, and if, in their united judgment, they believed the time was opportune, for us to enter into an organized effort for the more full promotion and spreading of the Gospel . . . in our land, they should present to this Meeting, the names of a suitable committee to constitute a Missionary Board . . .<sup>19</sup>

This committee was appointed and reported back to a later session their conclusion that “it would be right for this meeting to adopt some measure to promote the religious instruction of the poor and ignorant in our midst . . .” This report was accepted, and “a Board for that purpose” was appointed.<sup>20</sup>

The following year the Missionary Board reported:

There is an extensive field for Christian labor within the limits and on



the borders of our Society . . . We feel that the work has only been commenced . . .<sup>21</sup>

Obviously, this in effect was what might be called home missions.

The Missionary Board had plenty to do near at hand, trying to meet the crying needs about them. Local schools, so well begun by the Baltimore Association, needed help, as the report of the Missionary Board in 1877 shows:

All the schools were opened each morning by reading a portion of Scripture, and this was followed in most of the schools by other devotional exercises, or silent waiting with hearts uplifted in prayer to God, sometimes vocal prayer, also explaining to the children the Scripture read . . . the children learning to repeat many of these themselves . . .<sup>22</sup>

During the 1880s a transition to *foreign* missions came about normally and naturally. Something of a first step was taken by David Sampson in establishing the Blue Ridge Mission in 1883. To most North Carolina Friends, especially to those living in the coastal plain, the foothills of the Blue Ridge were really quite foreign.

Seeing the need for Christian service in an area about twelve miles north of Mount Airy, David Sampson appealed to Deep River Quarterly Meeting in 1885 for help in establishing a work there. A committee of twelve was appointed.<sup>23</sup> A small building was purchased, teachers employed, and a school started. One hundred pupils were enrolled. A Sunday School was begun, along with a temperance association (which was not very popular with local citizens). The work grew and prospered. In 1893 the Blue Ridge Mission was transferred to the care of the yearly meeting.<sup>24</sup> At that time the mission consisted of three buildings and twenty-nine acres of land. Surry Quarterly Meeting established a monthly meeting there in 1911, with C. H. Childress as clerk. When the public school system came into existence, Blue Ridge Academy became the local high school. The mission ceased to exist. The meeting declined, and was laid down in 1919.

Although this work was temporary rather than permanent in nature, its achievements were truly great in terms of human values. The whole area was lifted to new educational and spiritual levels. The Blue Ridge Mission was a demonstration of Christian concerns in practical application.

North Carolina involvement in foreign missions is by far too great a theme to be covered in any adequate fashion here. Suffice it to say that the movement developed among Friends as they reawakened to the fact that the Great Commission has world-wide implications, as

first-generation Quakers had so clearly perceived. (This theme has been covered quite fully by Christina Jones in *American Friends in World Missions*. See also *The Validity of the Christian Mission*, by Elton Trueblood.)

For many years there was no foreign missions board among Friends; hence concerned persons had to act individually, on faith. A few brave souls ventured forth without the backing of any official organization. Among these pioneers were Joel and Hannah Bean of Iowa, who went to Hawaii in 1861. A few years later, 1869, Eli and Sybil Jones of New England went to Palestine and organized a Friends School in Ramallah. In 1870 British Friends formed the Friends Foreign Missionary Association. In 1871 Samuel and Gulielma Hoover Purdie of North Carolina went to Mexico. (Actually, Samuel Purdie was a native of New York, but while teaching school in the Back Creek community of Southern Quarter, he married Gulielma Hoover of that vicinity.) So strong was his concern to work in Mexico that he learned the Spanish language from a goldminer working nearby. Allen Jay tells of his encounter with Purdie:

Driving up to the schoolhouse at Back Creek one day at the noon recess, I found him out in the woods, sitting on an old log with a big Spanish miner by his side, engaged in studying the spanish language. When I came up he said, "Excuse me, for I must obtain knowledge of Spanish . . ."<sup>25</sup>

Soon thereafter he offered himself for service under the auspices of Western Yearly Meeting, and was accepted. During the following decades his work assumed epic proportions among the Mexican people.

Enthusiasm for foreign missions among Carolina Friends did not happen instantaneously, nor uniformly.<sup>26</sup> Individuals and groups here and there caught the vision and became ardent supporters of the movement. Inadequate means of promotion left many others uninformed, and consequently indifferent, much to the distress of those who were trying to raise funds. As late as 1911 a plaintive note crept into the report of the Foreign Missionary Committee: "Last year Southern Quarter gave an average of four cents a member to the mission cause, and that is about the measure of interest."<sup>27</sup> (In fairness it should be noted that Southern Quarter now leads the yearly meeting in the support of missionary outreach.)

The fact that the missionary enterprise did attain great strength in following years is largely due to the initiative of the women. They were first to catch the vision and to take the initial steps in developing

widespread interest and activity, as indicated earlier.

North Carolina Friends who have served as missionaries in other parts of the world are listed, with pictures, in *Carolina Quakers*, pp. 70, 71. In reality, persons who served in relief and child-feeding programs during and after World War I with the Friends War Relief Service (later the American Friends Service Committee) were doing missionary work. One cannot draw distinct lines.

One effect of the revival movement in North Carolina was, at least indirectly, the introduction of *singing*. After two hundred years without it, there was a problem of acceptance, a step which some Friends never did take. The introduction of choirs and instrumental music came about slowly.

Perhaps the above statement should be amended slightly. It would be a little nearer the truth to say that *most* Friends rejected music. Apparently there were a few individuals all along who loved music. A Moravian diary of June 2, 1803 has this entry:

Many visitors attended the English preaching . . . among them a Quaker named Mendenhall, who lives thirty miles from here in Randolph County. . . . He often comes here, and always attends our services, especially the singstunde (song service) . . . He is a great friend of music, and especially of choral singing, and has had Brother Eberhart make for him a wall clock, in the bottom of which a little organ is placed, which plays one or more melodies. . . . He himself selects the tunes . . . The clock is so arranged that it can be set to repeat a tune from three to six times, so that an entire hymn can be sung. He said they would use this clock for their private edification and to praise of God our saviour.<sup>28</sup>

The first name of this Mr. Mendenhall is not given, but Adelaide Fries states that there are evidences that it was Elisha, "who had a mill on Deep River which made good flour." The mill was near the Guilford-Randolph line, as shown by the fact that the next reference to him is to "a Quaker from Guilford County, who loves Jesus and is a true friend of the Brethren." Obviously, most Friends were not in full harmony with the Moravians. This common question has come down to us to this day: "How are we to understand the Moravians, who sing so much, and blow horns on Sunday?"

According to Centre Friends, a visiting Methodist minister, Nathaniel Gosset, sang a hymn there in 1870. Was this a *first* in a Friends meeting in North Carolina? Probably not. A long letter



written by David N. Hunt, grandson of Nathan Hunt, to his cousin Emma Blair contains this statement:

The only singing I ever heard in the Meeting was probably . . . between 1836 and 1840. A Methodist woman attended the Meeting probably the first time in her life. During a time of profound silence she sang a short and beautiful hymn . . .<sup>29</sup>

It seems that as early as 1879 some individuals announced hymns at the yearly meeting sessions, and asked the assembled group to stand and join in singing them. This brought protests which were dealt with in the sessions of 1880:

. . . the views which we . . . have ever held upon the subject of worship, have been in some measure violated in the giving out of Hymns and calling upon the congregation to rise and join in singing them. The representatives have agreed to recommend that any repetition of such in the meeting will be considered out of order.<sup>30</sup>

Following this terse statement a further word is added to indicate that individual privilege in the matter of singing was not prohibited.

When the Conference of American Friends convened in Indiana in 1887, the subject of music came up for consideration in connection with the topic, "Meetings for Worship, and the Method of Conducting Them." In the conclusions of the conference, this paragraph appears:

Especially in regard to singing, reference was made to the use of words which may not be suited to the condition of those present, or of allowing a merely cultivated taste for music to lead into arrangements inconsistent with spiritual worship by the whole congregation.<sup>31</sup>

More years were to pass before congregational singing became generally acceptable across the yearly meeting. Instrumental music came later — first reed organs, then pianos, then pipe organs (where they could be afforded), and electronic organs in the majority of meetings today.

In an Epistle to Children sent out from the Women's Yearly Meeting in 1898 (one of the last to be sent) this noteworthy statement appears:

At one of our meetings twenty children from the Orphanage were present and you would have enjoyed seeing their bright faces and hearing them sing.<sup>32</sup>

One often overlooked fact is that the poetry of John Greenleaf Whittier has furnished the words for at least twenty hymns used in

Christian churches. The best known of these is "Dear Lord and Father of Mankind." Other favorites are, "O Brother Man, Fold to Thy Heart Thy Brother," and "Immortal Love, Forever Full."

In summary, the revival movement tended to leave North Carolina with a different orientation. There was a decreasing emphasis upon Quaker traditions and distinctive customs, and an increasing emphasis upon evangelistic outreach. As statistics show, membership increased greatly during the three decades following the Civil War.

The revival movement as reviewed here belonged principally to the latter part of the nineteenth century, although revival meetings in some form continued into the twentieth century. In recent years an increasing number of meetings have turned to spiritual emphasis weeks, or more literally, spiritual emphasis weekends, which are devoted to strengthening the devotional life of the membership and to reaching unchurched people in the community. Some meetings still hold revivals of the traditional form, generally for a three or four day period, once each year.

## *Changes, Transitions*

For almost two hundred years North Carolina Yearly Meeting experienced very little change, less perhaps than any other large group in the Society of Friends. Geography kept Southern Friends isolated and apart from many events which were occurring in other places, especially in the nineteenth century when separations were occurring in northern and western states. For the most part, the changes which finally occurred in North Carolina originated elsewhere, and came into the yearly meeting somewhat belatedly.

During the years of colonial settlement, great distances made cultural interchanges difficult. Other Friends were not entirely inaccurate when they referred to Carolina as being remote. When Henry J. Cadbury gave a historical address to North Carolina Friends during the 1948 sessions of yearly meeting, he entitled it "The Church in the Wilderness."

During most of the eighteenth century the piedmont section of the state was called "the back country," even by Friends who lived in Perquimans County. Educational and cultural attainments lagged a bit while homes were being built on the frontier, and while the Revolutionary War laid waste the countryside.

The isolation of Southern Friends was prolonged still further by the Civil War. Afterward, the Good Samaritan service of the Baltimore Association brought renewed life into the yearly meeting. Carolina Quakers began moving out into the mainstream, thus becoming a significant part of the larger whole.

New means of communication and travel hastened the process. On Thursday, December 13, 1855, the *Greensborough Patriot* reported: "At 10:30 the regular passenger train made its first arrival in the Greensborough station on the North Carolina Railroad." Times were beginning to change, even before the Civil War. No longer was piedmont Carolina the back country — although as recently as 1925 when the Triennial Conference of the United Society of Friends Women was held in Greensboro, some northern and western Friends who



had never ventured South before were unaware of how much progress had been made. Rather than risk primitive accommodations in homes, they made reservations in hotels. Imagine their surprise when they saw lovely homes and gracious hospitality everywhere!<sup>1</sup>

Attitudes and perspectives, important as they are, cannot be delineated precisely. Imperceptibly at first, the concept of being a peculiar people began to lose its strength during the nineteenth century. Prior to that time, Friends were not inclined to associate with other religious groups. Members were admonished not to go to "worship houses," nor even to listen to "sermons preached at funerals." The ecumenical spirit had not yet come into existence.

During the last half of the nineteenth century this separateness began to give way to more charitable attitudes toward other religious groups. The first reference to cooperative contacts with other denominations appears in the yearly meeting Minutes of 1882, when Methodists and Baptists are mentioned. In 1887 Walter Robson made this interesting statement in his *Journal*: "We received Rev'd Nathan Hunt Wilson, D.D. . . . from the Methodist Episcopal Church who gave us a very sweet address & afterward visited the women's meeting."<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the twentieth century, Friends have worked cooperatively with the North Carolina Council of Churches in common social concerns. On the local level, most Friends meeting are more ecumenical in spirit than many other churches.

During the decades following the Civil War the urbanization of North Carolina Friends proceeded rapidly. For two centuries, Carolina Quakers had been entirely a rural folk. With the coming of mechanized farming methods, the old time family farm gradually ceased to exist. The rural population shifted toward urban centers. For the most part Friends became city dwellers. Many of those who still live outside corporate limits commute each day for employment. Much of the growth of the city meetings has been at the expense of small rural meetings.<sup>3</sup> Just how this has affected the Society of Friends in general would be difficult to analyze.

The last half of the nineteenth century saw the Society of Friends scattered all across the American continent. In each area, development tended to follow somewhat different patterns. Small wonder that leading Friends of that period began to feel that the Society was becoming too fragmented, moving out in too many directions. The revival movement had gone to extremes (from the Quaker standpoint) in some parts of the country, and many traditional testimonies were being weakened or abandoned. Benjamin Trueblood said the Society

of Friends had become "very much like the pieces of a broken planet . . . having little conscious connection."

Along with others, North Carolina Friends were particularly disturbed by the use of the sacraments, especially water baptism, which was appearing in Ohio.<sup>4</sup> Even more disturbing was the statement of Ohio Yearly Meeting in 1878 which declared, among other things, "We repudiate the so-called doctrine of the inner light . . . in the soul of every man, as dangerous, unsound and unscriptural."<sup>5</sup> John Greenleaf Whittier, along with multitudes of other Friends, saw this statement as "an entire abandonment of the . . . root doctrine of our Society."<sup>6</sup> Small wonder that concerned Friends across the country should feel the need for a nationwide conference for the purpose of promoting unity, and finding a common ground of faith.

Visitors coming into North Carolina from other states were creating some "unsettlement" among local Friends on various points of Quaker doctrine. In an effort to prevent spreading disunity, the Minute of advice for 1886 strongly urged Carolina Friends to remain faithful to their time-honored testimonies.

Members of Western Yearly Meeting proposed a national conference of Friends in 1870, and again in 1875; but it remained for Indiana to issue a definite invitation in 1886. North Carolina Friends were ready, even anxious, for the Conference of American Friends which convened in Richmond, Indiana, in 1887. This became known in later years as the Richmond Conference. This great gathering was made up of Friends from all orthodox yearly meetings, including London and Dublin. The representatives from North Carolina were Joseph Moore, Josiah Nicholson, Mary C. Woody, and Abigail Mendenhall.

The Friends thus assembled decided that a declaration of faith should be drawn up which would set forth Quaker beliefs in clear, unmistakable fashion. The result was the "Richmond Declaration." This document was printed in the yearly meeting Minutes for study the following year, 1888, and approved in 1894. As will be seen in the following section, this statement was not entirely satisfactory to all members.

Although expressed in the terminology of the past century, this statement is still included in the North Carolina Discipline. It is a "restatement of Christian belief" from a very conservative standpoint. Although not considered to be a creed, it more nearly approaches this than anything which had preceded it.

The Richmond Conference considered several other major issues, such as the conduct of meetings for worship, the support of the

ministry, and the like. One major question was whether there should be a union of the American yearly meetings in the support of foreign missionary work. The conclusion was that one central board of missions could best unify the efforts put forth by the different yearly meetings.

As to meetings for worship, great concern was expressed that Friends be watchful lest "undue activity" should prevent the still small voice of the Spirit from being heard. The term pastoral was carefully avoided, but warm appreciation was expressed for the earnest labors of a devoted and self-sacrificing ministry.<sup>7</sup>

In spite of a wide range of differences, general agreement prevailed. This conference opened the way for the formation of the Five Years Meeting of Friends, the first session of which was held in 1902.<sup>8</sup> (During the years following, some yearly meetings pulled away from this body, but this is not a part of the story at the moment.) North Carolina Friends have participated generously in this cooperative endeavor. In almost every session a North Carolina Friend has been sitting at the desk in some capacity. Presiding clerks from this yearly meeting have been Algie Newlin, Byron Haworth, Binford Farlow and Clifford Winslow.

The formation of the Five Years Meeting (now Friends United Meeting) provided a continuing organization for the purpose of promoting essential Quaker principles, and also a basis for cooperative endeavor in Christian education, missionary outreach, and mutual assistance to local meetings.

With reference to cooperative activities, North Carolina Friends have been participants in the formation and operation of the American Friends Service Committee, the Friends Committee on National Legislation, and the Friends World Committee for Consultation. These organizations have enriched the life and service of North Carolina Friends, as well as providing appropriate channels of outreach and service.

Mention was made earlier of the many new meeting houses which were constructed in the decades following the Civil War. In the course of time these structures in turn became inadequate. New construction in the twentieth century was first hindered by World War I, then by the Great Depression — followed by World War II. Many buildings, not in very good condition at the turn of the century, were in a deplorable state by 1945.

Following World War II, new construction became possible. Al-



most every meeting house in North Carolina Yearly Meeting was repaired, enlarged, or built anew. An individual listing of new construction would be quite extensive, hence the reader is referred to *Carolina Quakers*, published in 1972 in connection with the tercentenary celebration, and to the many issues of the *Friendly News Letter* during the three decades following World War II.<sup>9</sup> During this period many parsonages were built — or at least remodeled to make them more adequate.

Some new construction continues today, but it is minimal. Most present-day meeting houses across the state are beautiful and well kept — quite different from the log structures of pioneer days. To some extent cushioned pews have replaced the old benches. From a materialistic standpoint, this is called progress.

The greatest change in the interior design of meeting houses (except among some Conservative Friends) is the absence of the old partition, gallery and facing benches. These have been replaced by a centrally placed pulpit platform, and an elevated space for the choir. With the coming of the pastoral system the focal center of the meeting room is the pulpit. A few of these meeting rooms (often called sanctuaries) have kneeling altars at the front, generally very unobtrusive in appearance.

With reference to recent buildings, questions as to what constitutes acceptable Quaker plainness and simplicity have arisen. These are relative, and sometimes elusive terms. At any rate, meeting houses show great variation. Some are rather ornate, with stained glass windows. A few have modest steeples. Both inside and outside, efforts to make meeting houses beautiful have raised questions as to when ornamentation begins to distract the attention of the worshipers. Some buildings require outside signs to indicate that they are Friends meeting houses.

The Sunday School movement made class rooms necessary. Many small congregations built additions on either side of the meeting room. In many other instances, separate educational buildings, complete with fellowship halls and kitchen facilities have been built. All of these things were unknown to early Friends and did not come about without some opposition. In one meeting, for example, the opposition was phrased in this way: "We need Upper Rooms, not supper rooms!" With Friends, as with many other people, "Some press the accelerator; others keep a foot on the brakes; some wrestle for control of the steering wheel."

As to changes in basic Friends testimonies, attention has already been called to the fact that not all testimonies were born full-grown. Some developed gradually over a long period of time. This is true with reference to the use of alcoholic beverages.<sup>10</sup> Early Friends avoided "excesses," but the concept of total abstinence lay somewhere in the future. Local meetings sometimes supplied rum and brandy to poor Friends "as needed."<sup>11</sup>

One of the things which made colonial Friends increasingly aware of the evils of beverage alcohol was the terrible effects it had upon the native Indians. Naturally, this began to raise questions about the use of alcohol amongst themselves. Some Friends, it was observed, were becoming quite intemperate, even addicted. In Pennsylvania the Chester Meeting in 1717 "had under consideration the excessive use of strong drink at burials."<sup>12</sup> Later (1724) the women's yearly meeting advised against making unduly great provision for furnishing liquor for women at funerals — "more than will do them good." By 1755 a Query was formulated: "Are Friends careful to avoid the *excessive* use of spiritous liquors . . . and to keep to true moderation and temperance on account of births, marriages, *burials*, and other occasions?"<sup>13</sup> (Italics added)

As with every other testimony dealing with human behaviour, there was difficulty in obtaining full compliance on the part of the membership. When Joshua Evans visited the sessions of North Carolina Yearly Meeting at Little River in 1797, he made this observation:

The testimony against the improper use of distilled spirits, and the making of such liquors, hath not risen high in the Yearly Meeting, although Friends had the subject before them.<sup>14</sup>

In the course of time Friends generally came to the logical conclusion that total abstinence was best. In North Carolina the testimony against strong drink gradually strengthened until it was put into the Discipline. By the early 1800s the yearly meeting adopted the practice of making regular inquiries into the "clearness" of the membership. Local meetings were directed to make reports of the number of members who used it "other than as a medicine," or "unnecessarily." In these reports there was nearly always a notation of "members not inquired of" — which raises a question as to whether some individuals were wisely avoided in the general inquiry!

Incidentally, a story, most likely apocryphal, was to the effect that after Nathan Hunt had given "a great sermon with much energy" on a very hot day, a man who was not a Friend pushed his way to the front of the room with "a foaming pot of ale" and offered it to Nathan

Hunt, who took a good draught and said, "Well, Thomas, thou hast hit my mark!" If there is a factual basis to this story, it is an indication that not all individuals accepted mandatory "teetotal abstinence" immediately.<sup>15</sup>

At one time the chocolate industry in England was almost entirely in the hands of the Quaker Cadburys, Frys, and Rountrees. Dr. Rendel Harris used to say, half seriously, "When the Quakers were willing to give up liquor the Lord gave them cocoa, which he thought was ever so much better."

As to the Quaker testimony regarding the use of tobacco, British Friends of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries condoned smoking if done privately and moderately. The Carolina Quaker minister, Charity Cook, caused some consternation in London when she was visiting there by smoking a pipe while walking down the street!<sup>16</sup>

In the American Colonies during the same period, tobacco was grown as a cash crop, and even used as a form of money in the absence of specie, although it did not grow especially well in the lowlands of Pasquotank and Perquimans counties.<sup>17</sup> According to Rufus Jones, the women Friends in Maryland sent two hogsheads of tobacco to women Friends in London in 1678 as an expression of love and fellowship.<sup>18</sup>

In his *Journal*, William Edmundson mentions the fact that in 1672 the men in Carolina sat in meeting smoking their pipes. Perhaps less well-known is the fact that this custom continued for a long time, according to tradition. In telling about the early sessions of North Carolina Yearly Meeting Addison Coffin may have exaggerated a bit, as was his custom, but he wrote:

It was no uncommon thing for . . . men to sit down in meeting smoking pipes. . . . This habit in time became unpopular and disappeared, but was followed by chewing tobacco during Meeting; this habit continued down to 1836, when it was publicly condemned as indecent and unmannerly . . . especially for ministers, elders and overseers.<sup>19</sup>

Apparently the use of tobacco during meeting for worship was not restricted to North Carolina. In 1704 the first Query in one Pennsylvania meeting was worded thus: "Do any accustom themselves to snuffing or chewing in meeting?" In his *Journal*, Walter Robson, who visited Ohio Yearly Meeting in 1877, made this comment: "The floors would look cleaner if spittoons were used."<sup>20</sup> A note from Allen Jay while working in North Carolina might be of interest: "I tried to tell the girls how they spoiled their looks by dipping snuff."<sup>21</sup>

In his biography of Charity Cook, Algie Newlin states that she



dreamed of going to heaven where she "presented herself for admission to the heavenly home." The gatekeeper could not find her name in the Book. She insisted that it must be there, and a second search was made, to no avail. At her continued insistence, a third search was made. This time the report came back that her name was really there, but that it had been so smudged by tobacco smoke that the keeper had not been able to see it. As one would expect, she discontinued smoking.<sup>22</sup> Most likely only a few Quaker women in Carolina smoked pipes in the eighteenth century, but doing so was not considered a moral issue, nor particularly objectionable.

For the past two hundred years North Carolina Friends have "borne a testimony" against the use of tobacco, but they have never been entirely clear in the matter.<sup>23</sup> It has been suggested more than half seriously that opposition to tobacco is strongest in areas where it is not too much involved in the economy!

The Discipline of 1923 stated that the use of tobacco should be a bar to the recording of a minister. Around 1960 a young man planning to enter the ministry was not willing to give up his cigarettes. He assumed the position that Friends should not maintain a double standard. Since there was a great deal of reason in his argument, a compromise was reached. The Discipline was revised to read, "The minister is expected to meet the standards of living set forth in the Queries."<sup>24</sup>

It is worthy of note that Friends became uneasy about the use of tobacco a full century before the surgeon general announced that health hazards were involved. This is merely one more instance where Quakers were far ahead of their times.

During the decades when the yearly meeting was undergoing great changes, so was Guilford College. For half a century it remained a small boarding school under the care of the yearly meeting. After college status was achieved, and for many years following, the same close relationship continued. So close was this relationship that it was natural for the president of the college to serve as clerk of the yearly meeting. In his report to the yearly meeting in 1889 Dr. L. Lyndon Hobbs said: "The College in its entirety is the child of the Church."<sup>25</sup> President Raymond Binford continued in this established tradition.

During the succeeding decades religious activities among the students continued to be strong and meaningful, such as student prayer meetings, Christian Endeavor, the Student Volunteer Movement, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the like. Chapel convocations



*The First Faculty of Guilford College. Back row: J. Franklin Davis, Mary M. Petty, Elwood C. Perisho, Julia White. Front: Mary E. Mendenhall, Gertrude Mendenhall, Dr. L. L. Hobbs, Priscilla B. Hackney, John W. Woody. Active members of the Yearly Meeting.*

were generally of a religious or inspirational nature. As the decades of the twentieth century progressed, however, secular influences inevitably increased.

The college was affected by the enrollment of an increasingly larger number of non-Quaker students, and by the changing mores of the twentieth century. Understandably, many members of the yearly meeting were disturbed during the 1930s when students demanded dancing privileges on the campus. This was followed later by pressure for smoking privileges. Alcohol in the dormitories also became a problem for the administration. It was only natural for many Friends to feel that the Quaker atmosphere on the campus was diminishing. Guilford was experiencing the same problems as other church-related colleges.

As noted earlier, the yearly meeting Advisory Committee was discontinued in 1935, although the college Board of Trustees now has a committee dealing with yearly meeting relations. This is becoming increasingly active in promoting constructive programs. Presently

there are many encouraging developments in the direction of better mutual understanding and cooperative endeavor. The newly developed Friends Center for the promotion of Quaker ideals and activities holds great promise for the years ahead.

One notable fact about Guilford College is that Clyde A. Milner served as president for thirty-one years, a record unsurpassed among Friends colleges in America. The academic excellence of Guilford College has climbed steadily through the years. Following the long and creative administration of Clyde A. Milner, Grimsley T. Hobbs, grandson of the first president, was selected for this position. He continued the progressive policies of former years. In 1980 William R. Rogers became the sixth president. His able leadership and great dedication hold great promise for both Guilford College and the Society of Friends in North Carolina.



## *A Separation*

As indicated earlier, North Carolina Friends were able to maintain unity longer than other American yearly meetings.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, Carolina Quakers were deeply distressed by the divisions which were occurring in other parts of the country, especially the great Hicksite separation of 1827, and the Wilburite-Gurneyite controversy of 1845. The yearly meeting Minutes of 1848 indicate that Carolina Friends came under great concern to participate in a peace-making process, if such were possible. "After solemn deliberation on the nature and great importance of the object in view: the restoration of the Society to that unity and fellowship that formerly characterized it," a committee was appointed to meet with other Friends in Baltimore in "7th month, 1849" to see what constructive steps could be taken.<sup>2</sup> Only limited success was achieved.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, changes which had been in progress in other parts of the country for some time began to make headway in North Carolina. Some of these were too great and too far reaching to be accepted by Friends who by nature and background were inclined to hold more closely to the ancient traditions. There was a prolonged period of gradual polarization, of drifting apart. While the cleavage in some measure followed the lines of the Wilburite-Gurneyite controversy of 1845, it would not be entirely correct to use these terms in portraying the separation which occurred in North Carolina.

When the General Meetings, discussed in a preceding section, began to assume the nature of revivals (including singing, evangelistic preaching and altar calls) Eastern Carolina Friends as early as 1882 began to raise objections. The obvious trend toward a pastoral type of ministry was particularly disturbing. They considered separating themselves from North Carolina Yearly Meeting and joining Baltimore, but did not do so. Instead of withdrawing at that time they sent repeated protests to the yearly meeting. By 1890 the opposition to evangelistic work was so strong that they asked to be excused from

paying the part of the budget which went to this phase of the work — on the basis of “conscientious scruples.” This request was granted.<sup>3</sup>

In human affairs, as well as in physics, the pendulum principle operates. That is to say, when there is a strong off-center swing in one direction, an equal extreme in the opposite direction tends to occur. Thus it was that when the more traditionally-minded Friends saw a strong swing away from ancient customs, the natural reaction was a movement toward greater strictness in adhering to original Quaker traditions. The problem of making needed adjustments in accordance with changing times and circumstances, without swinging too far off center, is always difficult, as Friends have learned the hard way, through experience.<sup>4</sup>

It seems that when Eastern Carolina Friends objected to evangelism in the 1880s, they were troubled by the *methods* used, not the basic concept of sharing the Gospel. Furthermore, their dread of any drift toward the pastoral system is at least understandable. Had not the temple priests of New Testament times been likened to “hireling shepherds?” Had not the prophet Micah in the Old Testament bewailed the fact that “the priests teach for hire, and the prophets divine for money”? For long generations hireling ministry had been equated with the evil of war!<sup>5</sup>

In passing, it might be noted that the one thing which has caused the most disagreement among Friends through the years is the ministry, and the way it should be exercised. A disproportionate amount of misunderstanding, misconceptions, and a general lack of communication has accumulated at this point. Sometimes the area of disagreement has been little more than the terminology used. For example, a “free gospel ministry” has meant different things to different people. The Discipline of 1869 (along with earlier editions) states that “As the gift is free the exercise of it ought to be free also.”<sup>6</sup> Surely no one would disagree with this statement. But even with this fact granted, controversies have arisen as to its interpretation. Friends have not always been clear as to the meaning of the word ministry. Is it limited merely to preaching, or does it include service? If so, just what kinds of service? Long year ago, a Conservative Friend approached the writer and said in effect, “We do not want someone to preach a sermon every First-day, but we need someone to work among us, providing a broad range of services which at present no one is rendering. We need someone to coordinate our activities.” Financial support was not mentioned — probably taken for granted. To this individual, supporting a worker of this kind would not automatically make him a “hireling.”<sup>7</sup>

As already stated, early itinerant ministers in the Society of Friends carried the Gospel message at great cost to themselves in terms of time, monetary expense, and sometimes extreme hardship. Often this sacrifice extended to their families. When *recipients* talked of a free ministry, perhaps they overlooked the fact that somebody was *paying*. Somebody was bearing the cost of time and travel. It is generally assumed that early traveling ministers were assisted financially by their home meetings. Just how fully this was done is hard to ascertain in any precise manner. One such minister whose visits meant much to North Carolina was forced to borrow money for travel expense, which he could ill afford to do, being already in debt. No help was forthcoming from his rather well-to-do meeting, although his visitation was officially endorsed. Friends were fearful of encouraging anything which might have the appearance of a *paid* ministry.

Traditionally, Friends have maintained a testimony against a ministry "at stated times." Less well known is an early testimony against "preaching funerals." An admonition to local meetings in 1836 is expressed thus:

. . . that Monthly Meetings be careful with respect to granting the liberty of our meeting houses to such professing ministers as are slave-holders & those holding with principles of war & hireling ministry, or preach funeral sermons . . .<sup>8</sup>

The Richmond Conference of 1887 ultimately resulted in the formation of the Uniform Discipline, designed (as those who formulated it claimed) to promote Quaker consistency, and to place a solid foundation under Quaker outreach both at home and abroad. Not all North Carolina Friends saw these developments in a positive light, however. Rich Square Friends (Eastern Quarter) saw them as an effort toward regimentation, and as vehicles for promoting a revival form of evangelism and the pastoral system, rather than efforts to strengthen traditional principles and practices.<sup>9</sup> The objection to the Richmond Declaration was not so much theological as to the fact that it was very nearly a creed.

As to organization, one significant change proposed by the Uniform Discipline was the discontinuance of birthright membership, and substituting instead associate membership, based on the assumption that the Quaker faith is not inherited, but voluntarily accepted upon the basis of deliberate choice and personal experience. Under the new system a child is enrolled as an associate member until he or she is of sufficient age and experience to request active membership. When such a decision is not made by the years of maturity, such a person's



name is to be dropped from the membership list — after due process of conferring on the part of Ministry and Counsel.<sup>10</sup> In actual practice, many North Carolina meetings did not discontinue the use of the term, birthright membership, for several decades. Local meetings exercise a great deal of autonomy; changes of this kind come about rather slowly where tradition is strong.

Older people, of course, thought of themselves as being birthright members as long as they lived. Children already enrolled as birthright members were allowed to remain so, with no additional action taken. Thus it was that in some meetings it took a whole generation for the transition to occur. In the meantime, the yearly meeting did not exercise any authoritative controls.

Friends of a Conservative persuasion were troubled by much more than disciplinary changes. They perceived a general, overall drifting away from the use of the plain language, distinctive dress, and the increasing use of music, Bible reading in meetings for worship, pre-arranged speakers, and collections in meetings for worship. These were matters of serious concern. So also was the commonplace attendance of Quaker young people at musical concerts, plays, sports, and other worldly amusements. A whole way of life was changing; some sincere Friends felt that in all good conscience they could not continue to be one with other Friends who were adopting these departures.<sup>11</sup>

Drawing a line between sinful frivolity and acceptable plainness has never been easy. As the twentieth century approached, differences in perspective increased greatly. As an expression of the more liberal approach, Mary Mendenhall Hobbs whose daughter Gertrude was at Westtown, after admonishing her to obey the restrictive rules there, added these comments:

There are a hundred simple, natural ways to have fun, and one need not feel afraid of doing wrong when one is having a merry time just because it is merry. Fun and laughter and merriment are among the most righteous things one can engage in. One of the things Jesus told his disciples was to rejoice.”<sup>12</sup>

A further expression from this unusually liberated person comes from the early years of her life, which reveals something of the change in orientation which was beginning to occur here and there among Friends of that day: “I had decided that I myself was a small lump of iniquity, and that the great God was against me, because I liked fun and pretty things and music. Joseph Moore’s preaching changed all that.” Small wonder that there should be a great polarization among



*Mary C. Woody*

### North Carolina Quakers!

During the last decade of the nineteenth century, a few meetings in North Carolina were using pastoral type leadership, notably Greensboro and High Point, although the yearly meeting as a whole never officially adopted the pastoral system, as will be seen in the next section. At any rate, a gradual shift in this direction was visible. Friends who were opposed to the pastoral system sent strong protests to the yearly meeting, even though each meeting was left free to work out its own plans with reference to the ministry.<sup>13</sup>

Clearly aware of the increasing differences among North Carolina Friends, the yearly meeting undertook a visitation program, sending visitors to all the meetings to discuss and explain the proposed Uniform Discipline, and to clear up misunderstandings. Leaders in this undertaking were Mary C. Woody, Mary M. Hobbs, Isham Cox, Albert Peele and Levi Cox. Their presentations were focused on three areas of Quakerism: history, doctrine, and procedures.

In 1900 the committee reported that the task was not completed, and it was directed to continue the work. A great deal of the traveling fell to Levi Cox, and he visited many of the meetings alone. The task of this committee has been called the most comprehensive effort of

doctrinal education and Christian counseling as to Quaker procedures that has ever been undertaken in the yearly meeting.<sup>14</sup> Although the work was carried out faithfully, it was only partially successful.

The first report of the committee in 1900 provides some insight as to the nature of the work being done, and prevailing conditions in the yearly meeting at that time:

We have endeavored to teach the doctrines and practices of Friends as laid down in our Discipline, using the Scripture references therefrom . . . All the Meetings need visiting and recruiting. From some cause the good, old-fashioned custom of ministers visiting Meetings seems to be dying out. Would that it might be revived . . . The great need of education is pressed upon us. That such numbers of young people raised up in Quaker homes should pass into manhood and womanhood untrained is a great source of loss and weakness to our Yearly Meeting.<sup>15</sup>

In spite of all efforts toward reconciliation, the rift widened, centering in Northampton County. Friends there deplored "such departures as hired ministry, congregational singing, instrumental music, pre-arranged prayer meetings, testimony meetings, etc."<sup>16</sup>

In a letter to Eastern Quarter in 1903 the Permanent Board of the yearly meeting stated: "It is understood that the way is open for such additions to our Discipline as may be adapted to the local needs of the yearly meeting."<sup>17</sup> This note failed to carry the desired conciliatory assurance.

As to the mechanics of adopting the Uniform Discipline, the yearly meeting considered it in 1901, but took no action. In 1902 it was adopted, along with the statement that it should go into effect immediately.<sup>18</sup> At this point a number of Friends in Eastern Quarter withdrew in protest, setting up another yearly meeting in 1904.

At the first session of the newly formed yearly meeting, Albert W. Brown was selected as clerk, and David F. White as assistant clerk. Julianna Peele was selected as clerk of the women's meeting, with Margaret F. Parker as assistant.

The Friends who withdrew encouraged others who held similar views to unite with them. This was done by personal visitations, and also by a communication (1909) addressed to "all members of the Larger Body of Friends, who feel pained and tried in spirit as they see the precious principles of Friends laid waste and destroyed by the pastoral system . . ."

The Minutes of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) for 1909 contain a rather extended statement of the reasons for the separation. The adoption of the Uniform Discipline was given as the





*West Grove Meeting House*

main reason. The changes involved in it were not acceptable. Some of these were of "fundamental importance." The fact that the recording of a minister was taken out of the hands of the local meeting was pointed out. Perhaps the most significant statement was the following:

Although the Uniform Discipline does not require . . . that our ancient manner of worship should at once be abandoned: it opens the way for it and offers encouragement for the introduction of a new order of things. . . . It offers no protest against the pastoral system which it is well known is rapidly gaining favor among those claiming to be Friends.<sup>19</sup>

Following the lead of Cedar Grove (Woodland) and Rich Square Friends, several additional groups identified themselves with the newly formed yearly meeting: Snow Hill, near Piney Woods; Oak Grove, composed of former Neuse members; West Grove, near Chatham; Marlboro (New Hope); and Holly Spring (Friendsville).

North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative)<sup>20</sup> is now composed of Rich Square (at Woodland),<sup>21</sup> Friendship (at Guilford College), Durham, Holly Spring (Friendsville), Virginia Beach, Wilmington, and West Grove.<sup>22</sup> The membership is now around three hundred. Two schools are in operation: Virginia Beach and Carolina Friends School (near Durham). The New Garden Friends School (near Guilford College) is not a yearly meeting school, although it originated among unprogrammed Friends and is partly supported by the Conservative Yearly Meeting. After some years of decline, North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) is now growing.

The Holly Spring (Friendsville) conservative group made a valiant effort in the first half of the twentieth century to become an "intentional community" which would preserve Quakerism in its original form. A Friends school was established in 1926 to provide a "guarded education" for the children. Several families of Friends moved into the community from Ohio, Alabama, Iowa and eastern Carolina to strengthen the movement.<sup>23</sup> When the older generation became inactive, and when younger people moved away for better job opportunities, both meeting and school declined. The building still stands, but is now used only occasionally.

The Holly Spring (Friendsville) Meeting is of historical significance in that members here retained Quaker customs as to worship and procedure longer than almost any other group in the state. In the course of time some of the members came to feel that Philadelphia Friends were becoming far too modern, and also that Conservative Friends in Eastern Carolina were "departing from plainness," and considered withdrawing from them. Charitable tolerance prevailed, however, and unity was preserved.

In retrospect a century later, it is regrettable that factions developed; Friends are too small numerically to be divided. At the same time it is possible to see that there was reason and justification on both sides of the polarized situation. Deeply sincere people had become emotionally attached to their customs and ways of worship. Religious observances of whatever nature can become very dear and very precious, and should be held in due respect by others.

The trauma of separation in North Carolina was not nearly so great as that among Philadelphia Friends in 1827-1828, and not nearly so severe as that among Friends in Ohio, Indiana, Iowa and other places during the evangelical separations. As to the families where there was a difference of opinion, members remained friendly with one another. For example, two brothers, Algie and Mahlon Newlin, were clerks of the two North Carolina Yearly Meetings at the same time — with friendly relations between them.

Unfortunately, the separation did bring losses, as was most clearly evident in the Neuse community, for example. The conflict situation left two small weak meetings instead of a strong one. Both declined and died in following years.

At present the two yearly meetings co-exist with increasing measures of cooperation in common activities. It is generally recognized that all North Carolina Friends are an integral part of one entity, all with the same roots, the same background. Compared with this basic fact, present differences are not all-important. Hopefully, an increas-



*Clerks of the two Yearly Meetings at a Joint Session, 1971. Back row: George Parker, Elizabeth Parker, Dorothy Brown, NCYM Conservative; Front: Anne Shope, Ruth Hockett, NCYM FUM.*

ing number of Friends will realize that understanding charitableness is the goal of the future.

Perhaps some further observations should be made. First, the parting of the ways among North Carolina Friends occurred among honest, sincere people. A second point of emphasis is that divisions and separations are not confined to Quakers, as any denominational inquiry will reveal. One numerically small division among North Carolina Friends in three hundred years is, after all, an unusually good record, even as compared with other American yearly meetings.<sup>24</sup>

Even a preliminary study of the Christian Church in general will show that people with different temperaments and different cultural backgrounds desire different forms of worship. Quakers are no exception in this regard. If this assumption is valid, then why could not some latitude be allowed among Friends in their manner of worship? To put the same essential question in other terms, why does any local meeting feel bound to have precisely the same kind of service fifty-two times each year? Perhaps some of the barriers separating the two North Carolina Yearly Meetings are not as all-important as they are sometimes considered to be.



Most likely an entirely objective observer would conclude that the two yearly meetings could learn a great deal from each other, and that each one needs the balancing influence of the other. (A full agreement on this concept might be a little difficult to obtain.) At any rate, there is increasing cooperation in the work of the Friends Committee on National Legislation, the American Friends Service Committee, the Friends World Committee for Consultation, Guilford College, the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, and other similar organizations.

It has seemed necessary to include some brief account of the separation of 1902 (and the years following), since it actually happened. In the long-term overview, however, it did not involve much trauma, nor include as many people, as the many local conflicts which have occurred in meetings here and there during the past few decades. Tensions still exist between those who desire to adhere more closely to traditional Quaker testimonies, and those who wish to follow the footsteps of other Protestant denominations.

## *The Pastoral System*

Friends emphasize the priesthood of all believers, and the responsibility to speak in meetings for worship when Divinely prompted to do so. This fundamental concept had its origin when first-generation Quakers broke away from the Established Church of England and its government-controlled hierarchy and hired clergy.

This Quaker position did not deny a diversity of gifts and callings, nor of specialized forms of service. Paul reminded the Church at Ephesus that some are to be "apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers."<sup>1</sup> Robert Barclay, the early Quaker theologian, put it this way:

We do believe and affirm that some are more particularly called to the work of the ministry, and therefore are fitted of the Lord for that purpose; whose work is more constantly and particularly to instruct, exhort, admonish, oversee, and watch over their brethren; and that as there is something more incumbent upon them in that respect than upon every common believer . . .<sup>2</sup>

Accordingly, when an individual was perceived to have a Divinely bestowed gift in the ministry, the meeting proceeded to make due record of this fact. Friends believed that only God can call, empower, and ordain, and that the meeting merely *recognizes* and *records* that which has been done in their midst. To this day, Friends use the term "recorded," rather than "ordained."

In further recognition of the diversity of gifts and callings in the body of the church, elders and overseers were appointed to extend needed shepherding care to members of the meeting. This did not mean that all other members were thereby relieved of the responsibility of bearing one another's burdens. Rather it was a practical recognition that some persons do have special gifts for this form of service. Furthermore, from a practical standpoint, it was seen that unless special responsibility was designated, everybody would tend to mean nobody.

As time went on, not all elders functioned ideally. They tended to assume the role of disciplinarians rather than that of loving, caring shepherds. As is common in religious organizations, there was increasing concern for the *institution*, and less for the individual.<sup>3</sup> There was a tendency to become "guardians of tradition and the custodians of sound doctrine," rather than "spiritual prophets and apostles of progress."<sup>4</sup> An awareness of this deficiency among North Carolina Friends is evident in the Minute of Advice to Ministers and Elders in 1873:

Being separated as watch-men and watch-women over the flock, we have felt the great responsibility devolved upon us, as contained in that injunction to Peter — "Feed my sheep. . . ." No opportunity should be neglected of encouraging the weak and tender ones — the babes in Christ — or of giving words of warning . . . endeavoring in whatever way may seem right to aid all . . . in a virtuous and Christian life.<sup>5</sup>

In an earlier section attention was called to the value of the home-ministry of itinerant ministers. Quite early, Friends perceived that these infrequent visits, valuable though they were, did not come anywhere near meeting the constant, continuing needs within the membership. Ideally, this service should have been supplied by the elders and by resident ministers. As is so often the case in the human situation, the ideal did not become a reality. Then as now, there was no substitute for religious visits to the homes of the membership. For some reason, this loving, caring spiritual nurture was not being provided adequately by the elders.

As early as the first half of the eighteenth century, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting tried to get more family visitation accomplished, but apparently without much success.<sup>6</sup> In North Carolina, Perquimans Quarterly Meeting in 1756 recommended family visits, with meager results. After postponing action on the matter for almost two years, the Perquimans Monthly Meeting asked the quarterly meeting for further advice — "Friends of this meeting not finding any to be free to Undertake" this visitation service.<sup>7</sup> The matter was not mentioned again. Apparently home visitation continued to be neglected.

From time to time through the years the yearly meeting Minute of Advice admonished local meetings to promote family visitation, especially during the last half of the nineteenth century. There is no precise way of measuring the response, but apparently it was sporadic and infrequent at best. A careful reading of the minutes of one local meeting disclosed over a period of over two hundred years only a few instances where the elders entered into anything like an every-home



visitation effort.

In whatever way one may analyze the situation, North Carolina Friends increasingly realized that not only was home visitation being neglected, but that also the spoken ministry in meetings for worship was inadequate. The spiritual needs of the people, especially young people and newcomers to the Society of Friends, were not being met. Just how many meetings withered away and died because of this deficiency, no one can say.

The need for a more adequate ministry was observed by Stanley Pumphrey: "The great need is an efficient ministry, men who know the truth and are competent to declare it."<sup>8</sup> In commenting upon the situation where a large number of people had come into Friends meetings recently, he said, "The people thus impressed need regularly looking after, or the good effect may very much evaporate. Thus in some places there is the need for a settled pastorate to follow up the work of the evangelist; and there is plenty of constant religious work . . ."<sup>9</sup>

North Carolina Friends faced a perplexing question: just what could be done in the way of assisting local meetings in securing a more adequate ministry, while at the same time maintaining the traditional Quaker opposition to a financially supported ministry? For several decades North Carolina Friends wrestled with this problem.

In the years following the Civil War, an unusual situation existed in the state: doors of opportunity were open, but Friends were not ready to enter them. Some gains were made; some opportunities lost forever. Naturally, a great deal of distress was experienced because opportunities were not being fully met. Year after year the report of the Evangelism Committee echoed the belief that the church which is negligent in reaping the harvest will lose it.

The long-standing custom of Friends in responding to a problem is to appoint a committee. A minute from the Meeting on Ministry and Oversight in 1879 states:

Our meeting has at this time been brought into deep concern with reference to the great need of continuous Pastoral care . . . We are united in proposing to the Yearly Meeting that monthly meetings be required to appoint joint committees to be known as the Pastoral Committee; whose duty it shall be to cooperate with ministers visiting and laboring within their limits; also, as far as practicable, to supply each meeting and neighborhood with ministerial and other help; and to build up and strengthen the membership of their meetings.<sup>10</sup>

A decade later it is apparent that a great deal more thought had

been given to the matter, as indicated in the following Minute of Advice:

Without the least interference with our convictions regarding the freedom of the ministry, Christian common sense requires that we make the effort to secure vocal ministry in all our meetings, bearing upon our minds continually that it pleases God by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe; and that the church is His greatest instrumentality in saving souls. When from the unfaithfulness of its members, or from some other cause, a meeting is lacking in vocal ministry, the church should do whatever may be needful, under the guidance of our Holy Head, to open the way, that someone called of the Lord to such work, may supply their needs and be ready at all times to help individuals into a better spiritual experience.<sup>11</sup>

The revival movement had brought a great many new people into the membership of the yearly meeting. Many of these people had a sincere desire to become a part of the Society, but needed help in obtaining a full understanding of Quaker principles and testimonies. They were not instantly ready for full participation in meeting for worship on the basis of silence. They wanted more inspirational, informative preaching — and singing.

In a situation of this kind it was only natural for Friends to become strongly polarized. There were two different points of view. Some insisted that a rigid strictness in adhering to “ancient testimonies” was necessary in order to preserve the integrity of the Society. Others thought it necessary to be more flexible, to be willing to accept changes, to make adaptations to new situations.

The pastoral system among North Carolina Friends came about gradually, over a period of many years. It was never officially adopted by the yearly meeting. Individual meetings, soon after 1890, began securing the assistance of a resident worker as needs seemed to require. They were reluctant to employ persons who would be called pastors, although the custom was becoming increasingly prevalent in the Midwest.<sup>12</sup> One by one meetings here and there over the state, especially new meetings in the towns, began to ask ministers to serve in a pastoral capacity, sometimes on a full time basis, sometimes on a part-time, weekend basis. Greensboro, High Point, New Garden, Springfield and Deep River took the lead. As time went along, the Evangelistic Committee of the yearly meeting began reporting on the number of meetings which were thus “supplied.”<sup>13</sup>

It is not quite certain just which meeting was the first to employ a pastor. Was it Greensboro, or High Point? When the Greensboro Meeting (First Friends) was organized in 1891, James R. Jones was

asked the following year (1892) to assist in the work of developing the new meeting. Thus he is listed by Greensboro Friends as their first pastor.

High Point Meeting was organized somewhat earlier — as a preparative meeting in 1885, and as a monthly meeting in 1892. Joseph Potts served the meeting in a pastoral capacity from 1892 to 1894, living in the home of J. Elwood Cox, who supplied him with room and board, and other needs. Potts did not receive a salary from the meeting. His position was not official, but for all practical purposes he was a pastor. The important fact is that both these new meetings simply did that which seemed practical. They needed help in getting off to a good start. They asked a dedicated minister of the Gospel to assist them, and they provided some financial support while he did so. It was not a matter of hiring a priest. Rather, it was a “Come over into Macedonia and help us” situation.

New Garden Meeting had resident ministers, Albert Peele, Mary C. Woody and others, who served the meeting in a pastoral capacity, but were not “employed” officially. The pastoral system as such came about there slowly and gradually.<sup>14</sup> The same was true of Deep River, Springfield, Centre, Cane Creek, and a host of others.

The first pastoral ministers to serve in the yearly meeting during these years had to labor under great difficulty, always conscious of being rejected by some of the members. Many of these workers received less than their actual expenses. In one of the meetings which Thomas Andrew served, for example, he received around five dollars per month.<sup>15</sup> His work involved about a hundred miles of travel, and several days of time taken from his farming activities, sometimes in extremely busy seasons. It was evident that his preaching was motivated by an inner compulsion to share the love of Christ as he had experienced it in his own heart. He died poor in terms of material possessions, but rich in terms of love and appreciation on the part of the many people whom he had served through the years. Of course not every pastor has lived up to his standard of Christian service, but he and many others set noble examples. Rufus Jones wrote of these early pastors: “They lived simply, worked bravely, accepted hardship and limitation without complaint, and they have been faithful shepherds.”<sup>16</sup>

The writer’s home meeting, Holly Spring, was one of the last meetings to adopt the pastoral system as such. For a century and a half there were resident ministers who, like Saint Paul, supported themselves by their own “tent making” labors. The first officially employed pastor was in 1940, on a part-time basis. This meeting followed the





*Thomas F. Andrew*

pattern of many others in preceding years: first, resident ministers; then part-time ministers driving some distance from another community, mostly on weekends; finally, a full-time pastor, with parsonage provided. In this way the pastoral system developed slowly, over half a century.<sup>17</sup>

While North Carolina (FUM) is generally listed as a pastoral yearly meeting, not all of the meetings have adopted the pastoral system. There have always been a few nonpastoral meetings. At present there are three: Raleigh, Charlotte and Rockingham.<sup>18</sup> A good working relationship prevails. One minor problem has to do with a budget item: retirement benefits for pastors, which is not of direct concern for nonpastoral meetings.

Henry S. Newman, editor of *The Friend* (London), after having visited among American Friends and observing the work of early pastors, especially in the Midwest, had this to say to his readers who were a bit sceptical about what was going on:

I only wish the English Friends would go and see for themselves the way in which they [the pastors] are working to build up . . . real Quaker

communities . . . a very much larger number of Friends are taking vocal part in these Western Meetings when there are pastors than in our own Meetings in England.<sup>19</sup>

In surveying the overall situation, the supportive role of wives (or husbands) and families of early pastors should be recognized. In many instances the minister was not the only one to sacrifice. As with early traveling ministers, devoted spouses assumed responsibility in caring for the home and family, helping to supplement the inadequate support received by the minister.

The pastoral system has not been without its own problems — problems too great to be discussed at any great length here. To some degree it has tended toward a loss of personal responsibility on the part of individuals in the meeting for worship. When everyone understands that a well qualified pastoral minister will be in charge of the service, it is only natural to develop a dependency upon that fact, even though there is an open period during which anyone may speak who wishes to do so. Furthermore, a pre-planned structured form for the worship hour does not lend itself too well to the exercise of latent, but undeveloped gifts in the ministry. Most individuals speak in public very haltingly at first, and consequently may hesitate to speak at all when there is no special “need” for them to do so. The very presence of a pastoral minister may cause such individuals to feel that there is an adequate excuse for “quenching the spirit.”

Perhaps the most detrimental element to the congregation as a whole is this subtle temptation to go to meeting without any particular feeling of responsibility other than just to sit and listen. The experience of worship, even group worship, is intensely personal. Enjoying good music and listening to an inspiring message, may be an incentive to worship; but it still remains for the individual to worship for himself. It is quite easy for the average person to “enjoy the service,” and go away again without having *worshiped* at all! There is a profound difference between assembling for a church service, and assembling to worship!

Unless the pastor-minister is clearly aware of what is happening, and constantly on guard, some members of the congregation will tend to become too dependent upon him. And herein lies a most delicate situation. People who are in desperate need reach out for spiritual strength and support. To be insensitive or unresponsive at such times is to violate the basic teachings of Jesus. These problems, and a hundred others, combine to make the pastoral ministry a most demanding occupation. It should not be entered into lightly — only

upon the basis of a Divine imperative.

Perhaps a further positive observation could be added. Average people need spiritual care and assistance in times of stress — which is a great deal of the time! They need a teaching ministry, whether this be supplied by someone called a pastoral minister, or whether it be supplied by elders in a nonpastoral situation.<sup>20</sup> The final emphatic command to Simon Peter to furnish this shepherding care is thrice stated in John 21.

There is no way to evaluate what the service of its many pastoral leaders has meant to the yearly meeting during the past nine decades. The most reasonable assumption is that a very large number of meetings across the state would not have survived without it, and that at the present time, quite a number would die without continued pastoral assistance.

From a long range perspective, the pastoral system, with all its positive values, has not been a cure-all for the Society of Friends in North Carolina. It has not brought a satisfactory solution to the problem of growth, nor to the need for maintaining the original richness and depth of Quaker worship. Pastoral ministry does not automatically guarantee that a service will be rich and meaningful nor that the people present will actually enter into the worship experience. Of course it could be added that neither does the *absence* of pastoral ministry assure these things. Creative worship may be much less dependent upon external circumstances than is generally recognized, an observation which comes full circle to the Quaker emphasis upon the responsibility of each individual.

At any rate, the pastoral system is here to stay.<sup>21</sup> Most Friends would agree that there can be no total return to the original Quaker pattern — unless by some miraculous turn of events the general level of lay ministry could be raised dramatically, and unless there be discovered some really effective method of maintaining the necessary service which pastors provide in the average community.

A full listing of all the pastoral ministers who have served during the past century would be too extensive to be included here. Perhaps special attention should be called to a few who have served unusually long periods. Elizabeth White (Aunt Lizzie) served the Up River Meeting as resident pastoral minister for fifty-two years. This seems to be an all-time record. Cecil Haworth served High Point for thirty-three years; Isaac Harris, Archdale, thirty-one years; Victor Murchison, Winston-Salem, twenty-two years; Norman Carter, Glenwood, thirty-four years; Charles Hutchens, Forbush, twenty-seven years, and Deep Creek, twenty-three years; Clara I. Cox, Springfield, twenty-two



years; Max Rees, Springfield, twenty-two years — and still going.

Problems relating to the ministry have existed among Friends for more than three hundred years, and may continue far into the future. One contemporary problem could be mentioned in concluding this section. During the past two decades ten or more well educated young men have left the pastoral ministry for secular employment. Higher levels of financial support and better working arrangements might be a part of the solution — but only a part. Long range complex problems rarely have simple solutions. There is not likely to be a sufficient supply of well qualified young people entering the ministry until there is a more basic atmosphere of encouragement, first in the homes, and then in the meetings. At least the overall experience of North Carolina Friends over the greater part of a century prompts this conclusion.

## *New Concepts of Stewardship*

The concept of Christian stewardship in the modern sense of the word came into existence very slowly among early Friends in North Carolina. This is understandable, because no monetary expense was incurred. Friends simply assembled to worship, and that was all. When meeting houses were built, the task was accomplished by volunteer labor on the part of concerned individuals. The men felled the trees, hewed the logs, and made the heart-pine shingles for the roof. Pegs were used to fasten the rafters in place. There were no glass windows.

The written records which are now in the Friends Historical Collection date back to 1680, but no mention of money was made until more than sixty years later. In 1743 a committee was appointed to "send to Boston to have George Fox's Primer reprinted." This first reference to monetary expense is worded thus:

Friends takeing into Consideration ye want of Money at Certain times  
 . . . Conclude that Each Monthly Meeting raise a Sum of money  
 According to each man's Lyberality for ye purpose . . .<sup>1</sup>

The first real assessment of record came in 1778. Funds were needed to pay attorneys who has been employed on behalf of slaves whom Friends had set free and who had been taken into bondage again. As slave problems of this kind increased, the financial cost became very great.

Fortunately, the mandatory tithe for the support of the Established Church in England (to which British Friends had objected so strenuously) was not rigorously collected in Carolina. No one was imprisoned, and no property was distrained. Just the same, Friends in Carolina inherited a mind-set against anything called a tithe. This opposition continued long after governmental levies for the Established Church in England ceased to be a problem. (Perhaps a *prejudice* had developed.)

Gradually the need for funds for various purposes increased, and a yearly meeting treasurer was appointed. Funds in hand were called

“stock.” The word was used much as the word “treasury” in later years, meaning money or goods held in store for use as needed. The expression, “money to augment the Yearly Meeting Stock” was used for more than a hundred years.<sup>2</sup>

In regard to finances, as with other matters, the Book of Discipline lagged many years behind actual practice. Not until 1869 did this paragraph appear:

A stock having by experience been found useful for the occasions of the society, it is desired by the Yearly Meeting, that the same be occasionally renewed, by a collection from each Quarter, in the proportions which may, from time to time, be determined by the Yearly Meeting; and that it be continued in the hands of the treasurer appointed by the Meeting, and be subject to be drawn out by its direction, or by the Meeting for Sufferings, as the exigencies of Society may require.<sup>3</sup>

Assessments were sent down to the quarterly meeting, which in turn suggested to the local meetings just what their proportionate part of the yearly meeting “stock” would be. In 1845, for example, the Minutes contain this statement: “We propose the sum of \$100.00 to be raised to augment the Yearly Meeting Stock.” This was apportioned to the seven quarters according to membership. If one estimates the adult membership as being 2,500 at that time, the per capita assessment was about four cents per member for the year — not a very great amount, even in that day.

Throughout colonial times, and for a century thereafter, Carolina Friends were never really affluent. In colonial days the absence of good harbors and commercial shipping centers prevented rapid economic development. Much later, the coming of the cotton gin in 1793 turned the South into an area of cotton producing plantations and slave labor. The Quakers who had cleared themselves of slave ownership had to compete in the market place. Simplicity of lifestyle and general frugality were necessities as well as virtues.

It may have been that frugality was sometimes carried too far. Individuals who are so inclined can always find a basis for conscientious scruples against anything which involves monetary expenditures. At any rate, the small amounts requested by the yearly meeting were not always forthcoming. Why was this difficulty encountered? For one thing, Friends were rather naive and inexperienced in the skills and techniques of fund-raising. Individual members in local meetings had received little instruction and encouragement in the general practice of Christian stewardship. Furthermore, the membership at that time seems to have been pretty much unaware of existing needs.<sup>4</sup>



So long as meetings were poorly informed, they could hardly be expected to assume an advanced position relative to generous giving. The yearly meeting as a corporate unit was slow to develop adequate programs of channeling information and inspiration into local meetings. Earlier quietistic hesitations about organized activity were proving to be extremely detrimental as conditions and circumstances changed.

Understandably, early Friends did not take up an offering during the meeting for worship. This would have been considered an interruption of the worship experience, and entirely out of order. When collections were necessary, such were taken after the worship hour had concluded.

A transitional step was taken in the mid 1800s when the debt of New Garden Boarding School was considered in a business meeting at yearly meeting time. For example, Joseph John Gurney, who was present upon one such occasion "proposed entering into a *subscription*, and the membership of North Carolina Yearly Meeting *pledged* \$915.51 in that session."<sup>5</sup> Such a procedure was an innovation among Carolina Quakers, but "the results were gratifying."

Some decades later, during the 1880s and 1890s when the cause of missions was presented, offerings were received for this purpose during the yearly meeting business sessions. The personal papers of Mary C. Woody, for example, reveal that enthusiastic response to the missionary cause was such that generous offerings were received from the Friends assembled before other items of business were taken up for consideration. (Local congregational offerings for pastoral support were to come much later.)

As to methods of church financing on the local level, meetings did quite a bit of experimenting, based somewhat upon the trial and error method. Most Friends held the early Quaker concept that occasional collections when needs arose were better than any form of "planned financing." Unfortunately, this did not work out very well in actual practice. No one knew how much would be received. Furthermore, the high ideal of giving if and when Divinely led fell short of the ideal. Giving tended to be sporadic and unpredictable, based perhaps too much upon sudden impulse. Gradually Friends learned that Divine Guidance is not restricted to spur-of-the-moment revelations. They learned that there is also a place for quiet times of prayerful consideration when careful stewardship planning can best be directed by Divine wisdom. Still further, they learned that the highest level of stewardship is a *family* matter, and not solely restricted to the impulses of the man who carries a billfold.

The lack of liberal giving on the part of individual members across the yearly meeting came very near costing the existence of New Garden Boarding School. Indeed it would have done so had it not been for the generosity of a few dedicated persons who made heroic sacrifices. The school, small as it was in the 1840s and 1850s, went deeply into debt for lack of support from the local meetings.

In 1860 a recommendation was made that the school be closed and the property sold "at as early a day as can be prudently done."<sup>6</sup> At this point Jonathan Cox, Nereus Mendenhall, Isham Cox, and others came forward and saved the school on the basis of their personal dedication, as noted earlier.

By omitting names and dates, it seems permissible to quote from the report of one quarterly meeting committee which, once upon a time, was appointed to visit a local meeting and make inquiry as to why it was delinquent in raising its part of the yearly meeting "stock." The committee attended to the appointment and reported that they were —

informed by that Meeting that there are a considerable number of their members disposed to contribute but very little if any money for the use of the Society, which has been the cause of the Meeting so often being behindhand with its quota.

As late as 1891 the Evangelistic Report contains this rather plaintive statement:

There are broad fields waiting to be garnered, but the laborers are too few, and some who would gladly be about the Master's work cannot go out for want of means of travel and support of their families.<sup>7</sup>

Early efforts on the part of North Carolina Yearly Meeting to promote the concept of systematic, proportionate giving as an integral part of one's overall Christian stewardship were a bit inept and faltering, but progress was made — slowly at first. Resistance to the concept of systematic giving as recommended in Paul's first letter to the Church at Corinth (16:2) gradually diminished as actual experience revealed that there need be no conflict between careful planning and Divine guidance. The 1982 printing of the Discipline states: "Experience has shown that efficient methods in church financing prove to be a blessing both to the individual and to the meeting."<sup>8</sup>

Progress in Christian stewardship did not come about at the same rate in all meetings; some were more advanced than others. For example, the minutes of one monthly meeting contain no report of a treasurer or finance committee until 1902. The first treasurer's report

was as follows:

Paid to Quarterly Meeting Treasurer	\$11.20
Paid to ——— ——— for sweeping	.50
Paid to ——— ——— for repairing steps	.50
Paid to ——— ——— for sweeping	.05
Balance on hand	1.60

The recording clerk added this statement: "which was satisfactory to this meeting." Amazing progress has been made since that time in that particular meeting.

Soon after the turn of the present century, the Permanent Board seriously addressed itself to the problem of initiating more efficient methods of promoting Christian stewardship throughout the membership. A remarkable document entitled "Financing a Meeting" was presented to the Yearly Meeting in 1911.<sup>9</sup> (Extra copies for distribution were provided.) Some of the statements are quite forthright in nature. For example: "It is time for us as a yearly meeting to stop doing things in a half-hearted, grudging spirit . . ." Haphazard support of the ministry also came under review: ". . . the time is fully come when the local meetings should make definite arrangements to pay pastors a stipulated monthly sum." Looking ahead somewhat, this further statement was made: "Aged and infirm ministers should be provided for by the whole Yearly Meeting and not allowed to suffer as the result of unselfish devotion."<sup>10</sup> As if in direct answer to Friends who insisted that new financial systems were a "departure from ancient customs," this statement was made: "It is useless to advocate the customs of Fox and Penn. They met the needs of their time. . . . Let us meet the needs of our time in an up-to-date manner, as they did."<sup>11</sup>

The word *stewardship* does not appear in the Discipline prior to the twentieth century. The Uniform Discipline of 1902 contains a general exhortation in this direction. The present North Carolina Discipline contains a clear, emphatic statement: "The membership should be taught the basic principles of Christian stewardship, and encouraged to be faithful in this realm of Christian service." This definition of Christian stewardship is given:

Christian stewardship is the practice of systematic and proportionate giving of time, abilities and material possessions based on the conviction that these are a trust from God, to be used in His service in grateful acknowledgement of Christ's redeeming love.<sup>12</sup>

The ideal set forth is that the emphasis should be upon service in the name of Christ, rather than upon fund-raising as an end in itself.



"Friends will seek to avoid appeals . . . that employ sensational methods, legal compulsions . . . or self-interest." The title is recommended as a reasonable standard, but not as a legalistic requirement. Some Friends, hopefully an increasing number, report that by the end of the year they have far exceeded a tenth of their net incomes.

In 1920 the Five Years Meeting (now Friends United Meeting) adopted the "Forward Movement." This was "with a view to improving our present system of collecting our financial obligations." The official response of the yearly meeting was a great forward step:

To conserve and promote the benefits derived from the movement a new committee is appointed to be known as the Promotion and Budget Committee . . . eight members . . . to cooperate with the Finance Committee in developing a *system* . . .<sup>13</sup>

This newly formed Promotion and Budget Committee set itself to the task of formulating a pro-rata share of the adopted budget for the various local meetings, and in promoting the concept of regular, systematic giving. In 1922 this new committee had to report something less than complete success: "Several Meetings have not so far been willing to adopt this plan." In 1923 the Promotion and Budget Committee reported thus:

7 Meetings have paid quota in full  
 7 Meetings 75% of quota  
 25 Meetings much less than the assessment.  
 13 Meetings nothing.<sup>14</sup>

In terms of progress, a noteworthy event occurred in 1942 when the Five Years Meeting through its Stewardship Committee undertook to *learn* from the experience of other denominations. The findings of their study were published in a *Handbook of Christian Stewardship and Church Finances*. This thirty-two page booklet contained three sections. The Christian Attitude toward Possessions and Their Use; Stewardship Education; and Financing the Meeting. Copies of this booklet were widely distributed throughout the membership of the yearly meeting, especially to ministers, elders, clerks and finance committee members. The first edition of this booklet was printed in April. A second printing was necessary two months later.

North Carolina Friends were somewhat surprised and dismayed to find themselves quite low on the list in terms of per capita giving, both as compared to other yearly meetings, and as compared to other denominations.<sup>15</sup> The Central Committee (now the Executive Committee) worked together with the Stewardship Committee in devel-

oping a continuing program of providing information and encouragement to local meetings. North Carolina Friends were learning to examine their stewardship practices in the light of New Testament teachings.

Yearly Meeting Trust Funds were begun before the Civil War. Such assets were all lost during the war, and a new beginning had to be made. In 1881 Dr. Joseph W. Taylor showed his confidence in the future of the yearly meeting by making a bequest of \$500. To date, this fund has earned more than seven times the amount of the original gift, and is still working! Through two world wars and through the great depression every dollar of the principal has been maintained — an eloquent tribute to careful administration. Today some thirty different trust funds exist, the proceeds from which go to specified purposes such as missions, evangelism, new meetings, aged ministers, Guilford College, and so on. Today the total of these funds held in trust (according to the wills of the donors) has passed \$600,000.

Under the wise management of the Trustees of the Trust Funds, the actual value of these funds is around three times the amount of book value. This explains why such generous amounts can be distributed. The growth and development of trust funds is one aspect of a new concept of Christian stewardship. More and more people are coming to realize that through donations, wills and bequests their service to the Church can continue long after their lifespans have ended.

One specific trust fund deserves special mention. As stated above, the Permanent Board in 1911 recognized the responsibility of the yearly meeting for assisting in the support of aged ministers. A trust fund for this purpose was set up, and has grown through the years. Luby Casey became chairman of the Committee on Aged Ministers in 1943, and rendered dedicated service in this capacity for thirty years following. During this time the name was changed to Ministerial Funds Committee. The endowment finally reached \$100,000 in 1971, a goal long held before the yearly meeting by Luby Casey and others. In that year a new pension plan for active pastors and workers was adopted. With many revisions and changes, it is still operating.<sup>16</sup>

Figures given in the yearly meeting Minutes are by no means a complete picture of Quaker stewardship through the years, but these records do have great value. Omitting the Civil War years when Friends had almost nothing to give, figures from the past century and a half are of interest. The yearly meeting budget ("stock") has been as

follows:

1845	\$100	1940	\$8,400
1869	500	1960	71,940
1890	1,000	1980	308,865
1920	2,215		

These figures reflect far more than the tenfold inflation which has occurred since 1940. The million dollar mark in terms of giving for all purposes was passed in 1969. Since that time the total has continued to climb. North Carolina Friends find their stewardship practices more in line with that of other yearly meetings.

Perhaps the foregoing pages have concentrated too much upon monetary giving, and too little upon the broader spiritual bases of Christian stewardship. Quaker thinking at its best recognizes the sacramental nature of all life, and consequently the Divine ownership of all that we are, and of all that we possess. In the progression which has occurred during the past three centuries, it is obvious that the first settlers, as well as others in times of adversity, had little money to give; but the stewardship of life was the same.

In recent years new opportunities for Christian service have brought increased responsibilities. At the risk of oversimplification, the steps of progress have been somewhat in this order: first, the development of regular, proportionate giving according to ability and to existing needs. Second, an awareness of broader fields of responsibility which extend beyond the local community and even the Society of Friends — into all the world. Some Quaker responses to these broader areas of service have been the formation of the Board of Missions, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Friends Committee on National Legislation.

Rapidly escalating problems of world hunger, pollution, and war continue to add new dimensions to Christian responsibility. Stewardship cannot be a simple matter of making an occasional contribution to a good cause. Not only are the total resources of the good earth involved, but also human values, beginning on the immediate personal level, and extending to all people around the world. Individuals, as well as Quaker institutions, have an inescapable responsibility to examine the nature of their investments. Quakers cannot in good conscience invest in companies which manufacture munitions, for example.

Ideally, our Quaker-Christian stewardship should be a determining factor in everyday living, with spiritual values taking precedence over material values. In a letter addressed to "Friends at New Garden and



Cane Creek in North Carolina" (1757) John Woolman admonished them to "dwell in humility, and take heed that no views of outward gain get too deep hold of you . . ." <sup>17</sup>

Job Scott, frequently quoted in these pages, expressed in a beautiful manner a very high concept of Christian stewardship:

I have for years felt strong desires to be wholly redeemed from the improper pursuit . . . of wealth beyond what my Heavenly Father knoweth I have need of; as also from all use of things, the procuring of which would require more of my time than would be consistent with my religious duty . . . I have mourned to see the true standard so lamentably departed from in these respects . . . Multitudes are miserably toiling and drudging from day to day . . . scarce allowing themselves time to assemble for divine worship, nor scarce time to rest and refresh their bodies. And many, when they do get to their religious meetings, are too often so exhausted by immoderate fatigue, that they are fitter for sleep than divine worship. <sup>18</sup>

## *Bible Study, Christian Education*

Quaker ideas as to the proper attitude toward the Bible have varied somewhat through the years. George Fox possessed an enormous knowledge of the Scriptures. Some have gone so far as to claim that if the Bible had been lost, he could have reconstructed large portions of it from memory. Robert Barkley and others also knew the Scriptures amazingly well.

Early Friends had high regard for the Bible, but resisted the tendency among many Protestant groups of that day to elevate the Bible above the Holy Spirit which inspired it. They resisted the tendency to make the Bible into an object of worship, called bibliolatry. Friends accepted the Bible as an *avenue* through which the Holy Spirit might speak, but they did not worship a book, even though it was a Holy Book. The Holy Spirit was held to be the original primary source of light and guidance.

During the following centuries, Friends have differed widely in relation to the Scriptures, insomuch that one can hardly say, "This is *the* Quaker attitude," without qualifications as to time and place. In the beginning, Friends held an overall view which was quite advanced for that day. They perceived that in the light of John's Gospel (chapter 1), the *Word* meant the living, Eternal Christ — not a book. The *Word* who "became flesh and dwelt among men" was not to be confused with "the word of the Lord" which was spoken by the prophets. This distinction was highly significant. In recent years, however, most North Carolina Quakers, along with others, have increasingly drifted into the common custom of referring to the Scriptures (Old Testament and New Testament alike, indiscriminately) as "the Word of God," overlooking the fundamental statements in the first chapter of John's Gospel.

The ideal stance was not always maintained. During the long quietistic period, the Bible was neglected to some extent. Perhaps Friends lost sight of their own claim that the Holy Scriptures are a major channel through which the Holy Spirit speaks. Bibles were not

taken to meeting. One might quote the Scripture in meeting, but only from memory. The rationale was that the Bible should be read at home. Bible reading during meeting for worship rarely occurred before 1860.<sup>1</sup>

During the quietistic period, Friends held the concept that Bible *study* and Bible-study *classes* were "creaturely activity," and not in keeping with Quaker principles. The Bible was to be read respectfully and reverently, but it was not to come under the analytical scrutiny of the intellect.<sup>2</sup>

It has been suggested that the great separation in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting drove Friends back to their Bibles in order to get their bearings in this controversy. At any rate, the Bible Association of Friends in America was organized in 1829, which began a tremendous program of printing and furnishing Bibles to people across the country, and finally to people in other countries. The work of this Association is outside the scope of this narrative, other than to call attention to the fact that the constitution provided for "Auxiliaries" in other localities. The fourth annual report (1833) included four Auxiliaries in North Carolina: New Garden, Deep River, Southern and Eastern Quarters.<sup>3</sup>

Leading North Carolina Friends began to realize that energetic *study* was required on the part of the individual in order to comprehend the truth and the message of the Scriptures. Paul wrote to the young man Timothy: "Study to show thyself approved unto God . . . rightly dividing the word of truth."<sup>4</sup> The coming of Joseph John Gurney to Carolina in 1837 had much to do with this new awakening, as will be noted later.

Some Friends were fearful of analytical Bible study (and higher education generally) on the ground that it "tends to destroy religious faith." This opposition was particularly exasperating to Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, who was often confronted with opposition to scholarly study. She expressed her attitude rather strongly:

Are we in such fear over this universe that we dare not have it investigated . . . ? Are we afraid for the light of patient research to be turned upon our Bible . . . ? People shun investigation because of fear and not because of confidence. Do our churches thus regard our Christian faith?<sup>5</sup>

Understandably, Friends were not involved in the Sunday School movement which was begun by Robert Raikes in Gloucester, England in 1780. His purpose was to teach reading and writing, elemental moral instruction, and some knowledge of the Bible. A further motive



was to curb the "lawless behaviour of children on Sunday," while preparing them for more desirable levels of citizenship. Quaker boys and girls were already receiving elemental education, and presumably a very high level of moral instruction. Furthermore, the concept of a "guarded education" kept Quaker children from being sent into any kind of "mixed situation."

In the first half of the nineteenth century, many Friends began to realize that the home instruction which boys and girls were receiving could profit greatly by Sunday morning Bible classes. Incidentally, a great many adaptations which have come about through the years were realistic adjustments to less than ideal conditions which existed within the homes making up the membership of the Society.

Insofar as can be ascertained, the very *first* Friends Sunday Schools were held in North Carolina! This honor is shared by New Garden, Springfield, and Deep River. Various names were used for these activities: First-day Schools, Bible Schools, Sabbath Schools, and First-day Scripture Schools. Some of these were held in homes; some in meeting houses.

In the southwest corner of the New Garden Cemetery there is a marker indicating the spot where the "Little Brick School House" stood. This marker states that this was the "Cradle of Learning in this Community." Two further statements are of interest: "Here in 1818 the Young People of the Meeting opened a Sabbath School"; also, "Here in 1821 Levi Coffin . . . Taught Negro Slaves to Read the Bible."<sup>6</sup> Among the teachers was Jeremiah Hubbard, the most outstanding educator of that period. A statement in the *Memoirs* of Levi Coffin is as follows:

There were no Sabbath Schools in that part of the county, either among Friends or other religious denominations. . . . I think it was about 1818 when a few of the young people of our Society, at New Garden, met to consult about organizing a Sabbath School. I was among the number and took an active part, for it was a subject in which I was deeply interested. Our conference resulted in opening a Sabbath School in our new brick school house, at New Garden. With few exceptions we had no encouragement from parents and older Friends. On the contrary we had much opposition to contend with. The school was small at first, but increased in numbers, and was soon very large and interesting. It was the first Sabbath School that I have any knowledge of in that part of the county. . . . The results of the school were very satisfactory to all engaged in it.<sup>7</sup>

Coffin adds the comment that his cousin Elijah Coffin and his sister Beulah were their ablest teachers.

The Sunday School movement among Friends did not begin with total acceptance. Older Friends feared that unsound doctrines might be taught. Others believed that activities of this kind were a violation of proper Sabbath observance — apparently going back to the ancient concept that the institution was more important than the individual.<sup>8</sup>

In the Springfield community Abigail Albertson began a small school in her home on Sunday morning for the instruction of neighborhood children. The number attending so increased that the school was moved to the meeting house in 1820. When Abigail Albertson moved away to Indiana, Allen U. Tomlinson became the leader. This school included about two hundred students by 1865. It began at eight o'clock in the morning and lasted until ten-thirty, closing in time for the children to attend the meeting for worship.<sup>9</sup> About the same time, while Levi Coffin was teaching school at Deep River, he organized a school for Bible study on Sunday mornings there. Was the date 1822? This date is not stated specifically, but implied in his comments.<sup>10</sup>

Allen U. Tomlinson became the superintendent of the Springfield First-day school in 1828, a position which he held for forty years. In the course of time he was made superintendent of First-day school work on the yearly meeting level, but no mention of this wider responsibility can be found in the minutes for many years. Officially, the yearly meeting was quite slow in assuming any active role in this phase of the work. Apparently a new generation had to be raised up.

It is not clear just when various other First-day schools were begun, nor how many existed before 1840. The minutes of the Spring Meeting contain this statement: "This meeting proposes holding a first-day School at each particular meeting under the direction of the monthly meeting."

The records of the Back Creek Meeting in Southern Quarter indicate that a Sunday School was begun there in 1835. This places it among the earliest schools to be organized within the yearly meeting. Belatedly, other meetings began Sunday Schools, some during the 1850s.

Both Abigail Albertson and Levi Coffin started Bible Schools in Indiana around 1825, or 1826. This was some twenty years before British Friends began Sunday Schools in 1845. These first Sunday Schools in England were for boys and young men, although older men attended. This project was a great success, and a Women's First-day School was started in 1848.<sup>11</sup>

Leading in the general Bible study movement in England and in America was the Gurney family — Joseph John Gurney and his cousin, Hannah Backhouse. In 1830 she began to travel among Ameri-

can Friends in the hope that she might be useful in healing the breach created by the great separation of 1827. Accustomed to luxurious living in England, she endured great hardships in traveling among Friends in New England, Indiana, Ohio, and North Carolina. She had a great concern to see that all homes had Bibles, and that the children were thoroughly instructed in the Scriptures. For five years she devoted her time to organizing Bible study classes and First-day Schools in America. She was a charming, graceful woman, capable of exerting great influence upon American Friends. She was especially successful in New England and in Indiana. Great enthusiasm for weekly gatherings to read and study the Bible was generated — something new in the Society of Friends. Some North Carolina Quakers raised objections, but a movement was set in motion which was to grow enormously.

Joseph John Gurney came to America in 1837. He added further emphasis to Bible study and the organization of First-day schools. As to the Scriptures, he wrote, "Never pass a day without reading a portion of the Scriptures in private; meditate on these things; give yourself wholly to them."<sup>12</sup> He introduced Bible study methods which were new among Friends, and which were so advanced that it was a generation before they were generally accepted. He has been called the "John the Baptist of modern Biblical scholarship among Friends."<sup>13</sup>

Not only did Gurney introduce new methods of Bible study, he exerted a profound influence upon Quaker theology and Quaker thought generally. It has been said that Joseph John Gurney did more to shape modern Quaker thought than any other single person. He claimed that he was only restating original Quaker doctrines in fresher, more vivid language. Nonetheless, his teachings were profoundly disturbing to quietistic Friends.

Responding to the encouragement received from Joseph John Gurney, North Carolina Friends experienced a great new awakening as to the value of First-day Schools. By 1856 the concern for the development of Bible Schools had grown to the point where an Advice was sent out to all local meetings asking that those not having First-day Schools go about the process of establishing them.<sup>14</sup> There may have been some foot-dragging, but most meetings complied the following year.

North Carolina Friends have not majored in Sunday School picnics through the years, but a letter from Francis T. King to the *Friends Review* in 1869 describes an event at Springfield which deserves a place in the history of the yearly meeting:

The table was of rough boards, 30 inches wide and 250 feet long,



covered with pure white cloth, arched with evergreens at intervals of 50 feet, with a rope fence around the entire table at a distance of 10 feet. This gave a frontage of 500 feet for the children, parents and others, while the teachers and waiters had the intermediate space. The result was perfect order, and as the well-clad crowd of over 1000 stood in silence before the table, richly loaded with fruit and the handwork of devoted mothers and sisters, we thought we never saw a more beautiful sight of this kind. We could but contrast it with the poverty and destitution of the same dear people five years ago, when a wing of Johnston's army was encamped 12,000 strong upon this same spot. . . . After the meal, Jos. Moore and F. T. King each delivered an address.<sup>15</sup>

This account does not indicate from what distances Friends came, but most likely a gathering of this kind included people from the whole central part of the state. The work of the Baltimore Association was in full swing, and this occasion was visible evidence of its effectiveness in reviving a yearly meeting which only four years earlier had been threatened with being discontinued.

The yearly meeting finally got around to appointing an official Committee on First-day Schools in 1868, apparently as a result of the encouragement of the Baltimore Association. The first report was made the following year, 1869:

49 First-day Schools  
 284 Teachers  
 3784 Children Enrolled  
 Average Attendance 1809 $\frac{1}{4}$   
 Duration of Schools 5 $\frac{3}{4}$  Months  
 30 First-day Schools for Colored Children.<sup>16</sup>

The reference to children enrolled seems to indicate that there were no classes for adults at that time. If not, such classes came into existence soon thereafter. The "duration" of the schools in the above report means that they were held only during the summer months. In 1871 the recommendation was made that "First-day schools be held all the year when practicable."

When Sunday Schools first began among North Carolina Friends, meeting houses had no class rooms. The only separation provided was the partition which separated men's and women's business meetings. Different classes met in different corners of the building. This was not very satisfactory. In spite of difficulties, however, a great century of growth and development had begun.

One interesting feature of the first annual report of the Executive Committee on First-day Schools is the statement that a teacher training institute, called a "First-day Normal School" was held at Cane

Creek, "superintended by Allen Jay." It continued for a week, and was attended by three hundred people, beside a large number of visitors. The report states that the importance of Sabbath Schools was fully discussed, along with the best methods of conducting schools. "Both infant and adult classes were formed." Interest and concern was obviously at a high level.<sup>17</sup>

Teaching aids (quarterlies) were not available at that time. First-day schools consisted of Bible reading, general questions and answers, the quoting of passages which had been memorized (with comments following), and with whatever variations the leaders might invent. Each Sunday morning some individual was asked to make a brief talk, presenting some application of Scriptural truth or Quaker doctrine. (This custom was continued in some Sunday Schools until recent years.)

It is quite possible that Robert Barclay's *Catechism*, written in 1673, was used to some extent.<sup>18</sup> This was much too difficult for children to grasp easily, however. Hannah Chapman Backhouse wrote a series of "Scripture Questions for the Use of Schools" while she was in Indiana. Whether this material was used in North Carolina is not known. A *Catechism* was written in 1859 by Elijah Coffin, clerk of Indiana Yearly Meeting and former clerk of North Carolina Yearly Meeting. This may have been used extensively in North Carolina, but no information has been found.

Among the very old books in the Holly Spring Library there is a catechism which was printed in Philadelphia in 1834. It is inscribed thus: "Holly Spring Scripture School, from J. Backhouse." Only the Old Testament is covered. Another catechism (title page missing) centers upon the principal doctrines of the Quaker faith. In the introduction, the booklet is presented almost apologetically, although it is excellently prepared. Most likely it was written some time before 1850, but presented to the local First-day School much later.<sup>19</sup>

In the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College there are a number of catechisms published by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, all of which may have been used by North Carolina Friends at some time, and to some extent. Among these are *Talks with Children* (Part I and Part II), no date given; *The Young Friends Manual*, by Benjamin Hallowell, 1884; *Catechism for Younger Members of the Religious Society of Friends*, 1888; and *A Brief Catechism with Scripture Answers*, 1915. In addition to these one finds *A Summary of Some of the Doctrine and Testimonies of . . . Friends*, published in Philadelphia, 1868, which is in the form of questions and answers. It was not well adapted for use in First-day Schools.

In reporting for the Committee on Doctrine and Discipline in 1901, Levi Cox stated, "There is still a desire for a juvenile Catechism, which your committee has not had opportunity to provide."<sup>20</sup> The following year at the sessions of the Five Years Meeting, Wilmington Yearly Meeting requested that Friends "take under advisement" a new catechism.<sup>21</sup> No action was taken.

When the Five Years Meeting convened in 1902, Baltimore Yearly Meeting requested "a Friends Bible School Quarterly, distinctly our own." Five years later a committee was appointed, which reported five years later, in 1912. (Friends have been known to move quite slowly when it comes to new ventures.)<sup>22</sup> In 1912 a Bible School Board was appointed, with Wilbur K. Thomas as editor of a series of graded lessons. In 1922 a Publication Board was appointed, followed by the formation of the Board on Religious Education, with Edgar H. Stranahan as chairman. The Christian Education movement which began at New Garden in 1818 had grown considerably — but a hundred years had passed!

During the latter half of the great century of the Sunday School movement North Carolina Friends took active part in state, county, and township conventions, which continued well into the early decades of the twentieth century.<sup>23</sup> These occasions were well attended and marked the first great gatherings in which Friends crossed denominational lines.

Among the great leaders of the Sunday School movement among North Carolina Friends was Allen U. Tomlinson of the Springfield Meeting. Other outstanding persons in this realm were Franklin S. Blair of New Garden, and Alice Paige White of High Point. The term Christian Education did not come into official use until 1923 when Alice Paige White requested that the yearly meeting Bible School Committee be changed to the Board on Christian Education to conform with the term used by the Five Years Meeting.

During the 1940s and the years following, Ruth Day and the late Pansy Shore, along with a number of other efficient workers including Marian Murchison, led the yearly meeting forward dramatically in adopting advanced methods and materials. Small inefficient Sunday Schools progressively became centers of real learning and Christian development. Under Ruth Day's leadership, conferences and teacher training institutes, such as were held in earlier decades, were begun again. These were of great value, centering upon both *method* and *content*. Christian Education conferences are still proving to be highly beneficial. Occasionally the attendance surpasses the three hundred mark.



In recent years, a decline in Sunday School attendance has come about, not only among Friends, but among other denominations generally.<sup>24</sup> Perhaps two factors have affected this development. In earlier decades there were not so many other social activities for young people, not so many other places to go. It has become increasingly difficult to make Sunday School competitively attractive. Even though the need for moral and Biblical instruction is greater than ever, inadequate preparation and outmoded teaching methods in many instances have tended to make the hour somewhat dull. As early as the 1950s a highly controversial article appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* entitled "The Most Wasted Hour of the Week." This article was unjustly critical, perhaps; but the fact that it appeared at all was significant.

The teaching challenge to the Church in the later years of the twentieth century is so great that the question naturally arises as to whether this situation can be turned around. There are signs of hope and promise at the moment.

Young Friends activities, as differentiated from Sunday School, had small, slow beginnings. One insight comes from John Collins' account of his visit to North Carolina Yearly Meeting in 1869: "In the evening a meeting for youth was held at 6 o'clock, at which a large number of young persons . . . collected."<sup>25</sup> He describes the meeting as being quite evangelistic in nature. The young people were urged to accept Jesus Christ as personal Saviour. Whether such meetings were held every evening, he does not say. Small children were not mentioned.

The first organized activity among young Friends was in connection with the interdenominational Christian Endeavor Union, beginning as early as 1894.<sup>26</sup> In 1902 a general meeting of young Friends was held in a tent on the yearly meeting grounds in High Point. Nine local Christian Endeavor Societies were reported, with "much progress." Eli Reece was president and Clara I. Cox, secretary.

A distinctly Quaker youth organization was set up in 1912. The following report appears in the Minutes for 1913:

The Young Friends Association of North Carolina Yearly Meeting was organized one year ago for the purpose of drawing all of the young people together, and to enlist the larger interest of our younger members in the different departments of church work. Especially it is the purpose of the Association to furnish the point of contact between the church and the whole life of the community.<sup>27</sup>

Officers named were Dudley D. Carroll, president; Lewis McFarland, vice-president; Alice Ledbetter, secretary; Silas Lindley, treasurer.

An international Young Friends Conference was held at the Jordans Meeting House in England in August, 1920, following the All Friends Conference in London. Young Friends named to represent North Carolina were Ida E. Millis, Clarice E. Newlin, Hugh Moore, B. Clyde Shore, Florence Cox and Leslie Barrett. In addition, Bertha Smith (White) of the Bethel Meeting in Southern Quarter also attended. She was doing pastoral work in Maine at that time.

As to children's work on the local level, a Daily Vacation Bible School was held at New Garden in 1922, which may have been the first. Alice Paige White reported in 1924:

We have advocated the holding of Vacation Bible Schools, and interest is growing in this. New Garden has held its third such school with good interest. South Fork, Centre, and Providence have all tried it this year, and we have heard of three or four other places which are planning to put on such schools next summer.<sup>28</sup>

The movement grew rapidly. In 1927 Alice Paige White said, "During the summer just passed, 18 Vacation Bible Schools were held . . . with a total of 1000 children. High Point had the largest enrollment . . ." At first these schools lasted two weeks; presently one week is customary. Some are held in the evenings, with special Bible classes for parents.

In 1944 the Christian Education Committee began holding sessions of Junior Yearly Meeting. This has grown and developed until it has become an important project of the committee.

The coming of various forms of audio-visual materials in recent years has added new dimensions to the Christian Education program. The yearly meeting staff is building a collection of films and filmstrips, and also a library of audio-tapes.

In summary, it would seem that the enlightenment of the present century would mean greater understanding of the Bible, and its fundamental teachings. This does not necessarily hold true everywhere, at all times. With all the current advancement in Christian education generally, some degree of Scriptural illiteracy still exists. Perhaps the greatest lack is a comprehensive understanding of the essential difference between the Old Testament and the New Testament in providing guidance for Christian attitudes and Christian living.

## *New Occasions Teach New Duties*

As the nineteenth century was coming toward an end, the work of Friends was becoming more complex, more extensive, creating a need for a more informed membership. The publication of *The North Carolina Friend* was begun in 1897. This was a very modest kind of newsletter "devoted to the interests of the Society of Friends." It contained news of Quaker activities, and items of interest from local meetings, along with devotional material suitable for Quaker homes. At first it was published every week, then every month. A good beginning was made, but due to lack of subscriber support it was discontinued in 1903.

The need continued to exist, and a second effort was made. *The Friends Messenger* appeared in 1904. It was an eight page montly publication devoted to promoting the interests of Friends in North Carolina. Eli Reece was the first editor; Clara I. Cox of High Point handled subscriptions.

This venture achieved considerable success, even though constant effort was necessary to get a sufficient number of subscriptions to keep the paper going. When the great depression of the 1930s came, *The Friends Messenger* ceased to exist with the issue of September, 1932.<sup>1</sup> A complete file of copies is kept in the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College.

When the worst of the depression years were past, Milton Hadley and others began publishing the *Friendly News Letter* in 1937 — a four-page bimonthly paper sponsored by the Promotion and Budget Committee. Its twofold purpose was promoting yearly meeting finances, and sharing news of interest to Friends meetings. The subscription price was stated as twenty-five cents per year. Actually the Promotion and Budget Committee furnished the necessary funds. As the years passed, responsibilities for editing and publishing the *News Letter* gradually shifted to the yearly meeting office, where it continues to this day. Keeping a mailing list of over five thousand names up to date is no small task. It is published only four times a year at present.



For roughly two centuries North Carolina Yearly Meeting operated entirely without any employed personnel. All activities were carried on by individuals who were able to give sufficiently of their time and energy on a volunteer basis. Large committees were appointed; but even so, the bulk of the actual work fell upon a relatively few shoulders. To their credit it should be noted that dedicated and capable people labored faithfully for the promotion of First-day schools, evangelism, missions, and other activities. Mary C. Woody and Albert Peele began giving increasing amounts of time to a position which was called Evangelistic Superintendent. They had to depend upon the train for travel when the meetings to be visited were beyond horse and buggy distance.<sup>2</sup>

Around the turn of the century the Evangelistic and Church Extension Committee, as it was then called, came to the conclusion that a full time paid worker was needed. David Sampson served as General Superintendent in 1906. Eli Reece then assumed the work for a few years. He gave long and detailed accounts of his work in the various quarterly meetings in 1908 and 1909.<sup>3</sup> The following year, 1910, he discontinued this work to become the first pastor of the newly organized Spring Garden Meeting in Greensboro. The activities of the Evangelistic Committee reverted to the volunteer basis for a time. In 1915 Lewis W. McFarland resigned as pastor of the High Point Meeting to accept a position called Superintendent of Evangelistic Work in the yearly meeting.

The following excerpt from the report of the Evangelistic and Church Extension Committee indicates something of the travel problems involved:

With more than forty of our congregations distant from any railroad . . . and in many cases the families of these scattered over several miles of rough territory, it is very essential that the Superintendent chosen by the Yearly Meeting be physically strong and able to travel in a primitive way if need be.<sup>4</sup>

In 1918 Alphaeus Briggs made this statement: "Our superintendent has been favored in covering the territory this year . . . by the use of an auto runabout kindly contributed by his friends."<sup>5</sup> The roads were sufficiently improved to make this kind of transportation feasible.

Lewis McFarland, a native of Indiana, was an able and energetic administrator. He extended shepherding care to all the local meetings, and held many series of evangelistic services, as time would permit. As the great depression settled over the state in the 1930s, however, there were no funds available for his support. He was forced to give up this

position, which remained vacant for five years. During this interim period, Nathan D. Andrews of Greensboro, a furniture salesman for the Tomlinson industries in High Point, gave a great deal of time and travel to the work on a volunteer basis.

By 1935 economic conditions had improved somewhat, and Murray C. Johnson, another native of Indiana who had been serving as pastor of the Spring Garden Meeting, was employed to serve as Executive Secretary of the yearly meeting. His duties were much broader than those of Lewis McFarland and included a great deal of administrative work. He served in this capacity from 1935 to 1941.

His successor was Fredric Carter (1943 to 1947), also from Indiana. During this time he maintained an office in his home in Greensboro. His attachment to North Carolina was such that he returned later to serve as pastor of the Spring Garden Meeting.

Next in succession (1947-1952) was Isaac Harris, originally of the South Fork community, but then serving as pastor of the Muncie Meeting in Indiana. During his term of service a Secretary's home was built on the west side of New Garden Road, directly across from the Guilford College campus. He was provided with some secretarial help; but there was no yearly meeting office, as such. Equipment consisted of a mimeograph, and an addressograph for use in sending out the *Friendly News Letter*. (He used his own typewriter.) Ruth Day, then Secretary of Youth and Christian Education, lived in the Harris home for a while, and assisted in stenographic work, as time would permit.

In 1952 Isaac Harris resigned to become pastor of the Archdale Meeting. Seth Hinshaw, then serving as pastor of the Asheboro Meeting, assumed the work for the next sixteen years. A large room was added to the north side of the secretary's home in 1955, which became an office and conference room. Additional equipment was purchased from year to year. Part time secretarial work was secured, with Helen Redding, Mary Butt, Wilma Barker, Pat Newlin and Margaret Harris serving in succession.

As activities increased, the Hinshaw family found it increasingly difficult to live in an office. A new home was purchased on nearby Ridgecrest Drive in 1962. The first home was then used for office purposes entirely. The building was not designed with this in view, but it served remarkably well. The space which was added in 1955 is still used as a conference room.

During the successive terms of Victor Murchison (1968-1971), Hershel Hill (1971-1974), and Billy Britt (to the present), activities have continued to increase. Victor Murchison, native of the Rocky

River community, had served the Winston-Salem Meeting as pastor for twenty-two years before assuming this administrative work. Hershel Hill, originally from Indiana, had served for a time with the Friends Mission in Tennessee, in addition to broad pastoral experience in North Carolina. Billy Britt, of the Hood Swamp Meeting, was pastor of the Spring Garden Meeting when asked to begin administrative work with the yearly meeting. The title was changed from Executive Secretary to Superintendent in 1981. This corresponds with similar positions in most other yearly meetings of the Friends United Meeting.

Margaret Harris has continued to serve since 1961, being given the title of Administrative Assistant in 1974. In addition, the office staff now includes a treasurer's assistant for bookkeeping, a typist for general stenographic activities, and a full-time Director of Christian Education.

One development during the past half-century deserves special mention: the formation of a Ministers Association. With the coming of the pastoral system the ministers realized that they had many interests and concerns in common, and that they should work together in terms of a cooperative fellowship.

Very little is known about early beginnings, for no records can be found. A casual statement in the *Friends Messenger* for March, 1922, gives a bit of insight:

During the Yearly Meeting of 1920 the Ministerial Association . . . was reorganized. One provision of the constitution is that a conference shall be held annually, in March, for the purpose of inspiration and helpfulness.

During depression years activities almost ceased. In February of 1932, the group gathered at Spring Garden for a day of conference and prayer, under the leadership of D. Virgil Pike. The desperate situation of the yearly meeting was discussed. A conference was held at New Garden in April of that year, with very few in attendance.

By 1940 the depression had lifted somewhat, and Howard and Edna Cope of the Greensboro Meeting invited a few nearby ministers and wives to meet in their home for social fellowship. Present were the Copes, Murray and Savilla Johnson, Clifton and Ruby Pearson, Cecil and Esta Haworth, Elbert and Inez Newlin, and Russell and Bessie Branson. For this time of recreation and fellowship they called themselves "The Frivolous Friars and Silly Sisters," hardly a name that



would be retained when serious activities were resumed.

At the next meeting, held on the top floor of the Jefferson Building in Greensboro, about fifty persons were present. A formal organization was worked out. From that time to the present the ministers association has been strong and active. A concern soon developed for a winter Short Course, which would be a learning-sharing experience. At first these occasions lasted two weeks, and were held at Guilford College. In recent years the time was shortened to one week, then to three days at Quaker Lake. Regular monthly meetings of the ministers association are held at various meetings across the state.

In addition to the learning-sharing benefits of the association, a close cooperative fellowship among the pastors developed, possibly unsurpassed in the Friends United Meeting. In recent years some disruptive problems have arisen, which hopefully will diminish as time progresses. Within every group of people, whether religious, political or economic, there is tension between those who are more conservative and those who are more liberal. Furthermore, there is a wide variation between those who are deeply devoted to the basic testimonies of the Society of Friends, and those who would be just as much at home in another Protestant denomination.

There is much difference of opinion as to whether the Quaker testimony against participation in military activities is as strong and clear-cut as it was in former generations. However this may be, it should be noted that a great many young men in the yearly meeting refused to bear arms in World War I. These young men received rough treatment in camp, for the country did not have adequate plans for dealing with conscientious objectors at that time. Public sentiment ran strongly in the direction that anyone who would not fight in "a war to end all war," and "to make the world safe for democracy" was not in his right mind.

When World War II occurred, conscientious objectors were more fully recognized. Civilian Public Service (CPS) Camps were established, and a large number of young men from across the yearly meeting were sent to these camps, some of which were under the supervision of Quaker directors.<sup>6</sup> For example, Raymond and Helen Binford supervised Buck Creek Camp at Marion, North Carolina, from August 1941 to May 1943.

Young men in these camps had to be largely self-supporting, hence local meetings cooperated in collecting food and supplies for them. Unfortunately, work in these camps turned out to be very much like

prison labor. Some young men volunteered to serve in mental hospitals; others served on dairy farms, and other forms of civilian employment.

During the Korean and Vietnam conflicts, conscientious objectors were assigned to public service projects which had been approved by the government. It has been the observation of the writer that the majority of Quaker young men reach military draft age without having had adequate preparation in terms of religious instruction concerning the Friends peace testimony.

To some extent each new generation must make its own beginnings. The Young Friends Association of earlier years was reorganized in 1934. It was renamed the Young Friends Activities Committee. Mary Reynolds was the new president; Monroe Hendricks, vice-president; Leah Hammond, secretary; Bunyan Andrew, treasurer. Since that time, North Carolina Young Friends have been quite active, participating in Friends United Meeting youth activities, and also in the work of Young Friends of North America.<sup>7</sup>

The first paid yearly meeting secretary of Christian Education and Young Friends Activities was Theodore Perkins, beginning in 1946. Since that time the following persons have served: Ruth Day, Buford Frye, Charles Snow, Wallace Sills, Jan Osborne, and David Tebbs, at present.

Young Friends summer camps began at Camp Nawaka near Randleman, followed by one at Camp Perquimans near Hertford in 1938. In succeeding years camps were held at Lake Singletary and Guilford College. No camp was held in 1945 on account of wartime travel limitations.

In 1949 Parrish Clodfelter of the Springfield Meeting informed Milton Hadley, pastor, of a farm near Climax which had a five-acre lake, and which was for sale at a price of \$12,500. Milton Hadley and Virgil Pike visited Maiseybrook Farm, as it was then called. Both were interested in securing a place for a youth camp, and both believed the property should be purchased. They persuaded thirteen men to loan \$1,000 each with which to buy the farm. In October of that year an interested group met at the farm and renamed it Quaker Lake.

Walter and Anna Coble offered to sell three cabins for fifty dollars each. These were purchased and moved to Quaker Lake. Centre Meeting offered a hut which had been used for Sunday School classes, for a small sum. Ed and Beatrice Gruen of Greensboro Meeting (First Friends) gave a quonset hut. Youth camps began at Quaker Lake in





### *Quaker Lake*

1950.<sup>8</sup>

From these small beginnings, facilities have grown to include at present a large main building constructed of western cedar; twelve cabins (four winterized); two picnic shelters; a craft house; and a large swimming pool with modern facilities. Additional land has been purchased, making slightly more than 200 acres, with a long frontage on State Highway 62. The value of the property has risen from the original purchase price of \$12,500 to something near \$1,000,000, according to an estimate by Neal Thomas, resident director. Activities of all kinds are in progress twelve months of the year. There are overnight accommodations for 134 people in summer, 54 in cold weather. There are also spaces for family campers.

The Board of Directors has had the following persons as chairman: Milton Hadley, Virgil Pike, Isaac Harris, Charles Hendricks, Clark Wilson, David Stanfield, Donald Osborne, and Dwight Osborne. Resident directors have been Marvin and Mattie Hockett, Jane and Milton Reece, Orval and Alberta Dillon, Calhoun and Virgie Geiger, and Neal and Susie Thomas.



An honor roll of persons who have contributed greatly to the success of this enterprise cannot be undertaken, but perhaps most people would agree that the late Edgar Murrow and Virgil Pike should be somewhere near the head of the list.

In recent years, Young Friends Yearly Meeting has become an important event, with activities for all ages, beginning with very young children, and extending to young adults — the eighteen-to-thirty age group. The facilities of New Garden Meeting, Guilford College and Quaker Lake make all this possible.

As programs and activities for Young Friends were being developed, a concern for the well-being of older Friends came into existence. During the yearly meeting sessions of 1954 the need for a retirement home for elderly persons was expressed. After the manner of Friends, a committee was appointed — consisting of Horace S. Haworth, chairman, Algie I. Newlin, Robert Frazier and Seth Hinshaw.

Events moved slowly for a time. The concept was new among Carolina Quakers, and the customary opposition surfaced. Finally, a corporation was formed December 12, 1958, and Friends Homes was chartered by the State of North Carolina as a non-profit organization for the primary purpose of establishing a retirement home for elderly and retired people.

After a long process of promotion and fund-raising, land was secured, and the construction of the first building was begun. In July, 1968, the first residents, Stephen and Stella Dow, moved into the efficiency apartments. Progress to date need not be recounted in detail, other than to “point with pride” to the magnificent buildings which now comprise one of the finest facilities in the state. There are apartments for retired persons who do not wish to maintain a separate home; intermediate-care facilities for people who need some extra assistance; and a skilled nursing care center for those who require this service. Small wonder that there is a waiting list of over a thousand applicants! The location, near New Garden Meeting, Guilford College and Greensboro, is most fortunate. An overview shows 320 residents, 145 employees, 6 buildings on 15 acres, a property valuation of \$9,000,000 and an annual budget of \$3,000,000. Further construction is scheduled to provide more beds for skilled nursing care patients.

During the past few decades the Yearly Meeting has furnished local



### *Friends Homes*

meetings with an abundance of printed material, especially study-guide booklets covering a wide range of subjects, along with a series of handbooks for elders, clerks, pastors, and others. These have proved to be quite valuable, and have been widely used. A Publications Board was established in 1972, which has endowment funds to enable it to carry on an active program.

Perhaps the greatest single publication project was that of producing *Carolina Quakers* in connection with the 300th anniversary of the coming of Fox and Edmundson to Carolina in 1672. This book is the work of a large committee and many individuals from meetings across the state who contributed historical information. It contains 560 pictures, along with an overview of Quaker activities in North Carolina since 1665. Seth and Mary Edith Hinshaw served as editors, devoting a solid year to this work. Five thousand copies were printed, most of which have been sold, making the project self-supporting.

With reference to publications, the Book Room at yearly meeting time, sponsored by the Literature Committee, has done a significant work during recent decades. This project was started in 1935 when Joseph Peele was chairman. Cecil Haworth was made chairman in 1940, and with the able assistance of Clara and Zelma Farlow, the Book Room continued to expand. The thousand dollar mark in sales was reached in 1950; the three thousand dollar mark in 1967. At the 1983 sessions of yearly meeting, gross sales amounted to \$5,195.

In recent years there has been renewed interest in the Carolina Quaker heritage. The North Carolina Friends Historical Society was reactivated in 1976.<sup>9</sup> Attention has been increasingly centered on the Friends Historical Collection which is housed in the Guilford College Library.

Belatedly, the Yearly Meeting recognized its obligation in providing care for the enormous collection of records stored there. In 1978, at the request of the Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records, the Representative Body approved an appropriation "to help pay the salary of the curator's assistant,"<sup>10</sup> whose duty would be not only to care for these exceedingly valuable records, but also to assist yearly meeting members, college students and others in research.<sup>11</sup> These records still belong to the meetings from which they came. Guilford College cooperates with the yearly meeting in the care and use of them.

Older yearly meeting records have had a precarious existence. Just before the Civil War, Francis T. King packed the old record books into a tin box and transported them to Baltimore, where they were kept until after the war. In 1881 a fireproof safe was purchased by the yearly meeting. Apparently the safe was too small, for in 1888 a vault was purchased. A small brick building was erected on the New Garden property, in which the vault was housed. Albert Peele was named the first custodian. Fortunately, yearly meeting records were in the vault when King Hall, in which the records had been stored in previous years, burned down in 1908. Julia White, librarian, had the wisdom to store some of the oldest and rarest books from the library there, such as a first edition of George Fox's *Journal*. When the present library was built in 1909, the vault was moved into it.<sup>12</sup>

Just how many local record books have been lost in home fires and in other ways across the state through the years, no one can say. For example, a tragic home fire in the Centre community destroyed all the minutes of the women's meeting prior to 1828, and the men's meeting prior to 1834.

One of the most dramatic rescue operations of the Committee on the Care of Yearly Meeting Records was retrieving and restoring the minute book of the Perquimans Meeting, 1680 and following — the oldest North Carolina monthly meeting. The first volume of minutes begins with Second-month, 1680, and ends with Seventh-month, 1736. Parts of this book were found in four different places. In 1915 Josiah Nicholson of Belvidere acquired part of it, and gave it to Julia White, custodian of records for North Carolina Yearly Meeting. The second section was found in an old building in Belvidere in 1936 by Elbert White, who sent it to Laura Worth, then custodian of records. The third section was discovered by William Wade Hinshaw in a second hand book shop near Glens Falls, New York, and was purchased by North Carolina Friends and repaired by Laura Worth. The fourth part was located in the manuscript collection at Duke University where it



had been mistakenly cataloged as minutes of the Chuckatuck Meeting in Virginia. Dorothy Gilbert (Thorne) recognized these pages as the ones which were missing from the Perquimans Book, beginning with Sixth-month, 1729. Dr. Benjamin Powell of Duke University generously secured permission for the committee on records to purchase these nine leaves, thus completing the earliest book of records in the Friends Historical Collection.

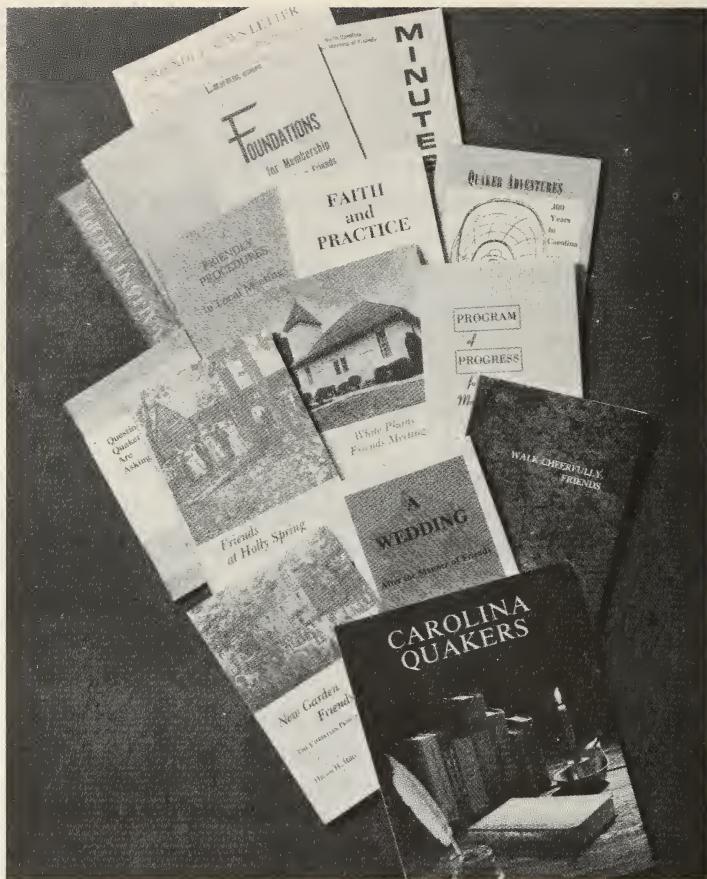
This great treasure has been reassembled, and is now safely stored in the vault in the Guilford College Library. This example explains why the Committee on the Care of Records pleads so earnestly with local meetings to place their valuable records in safe keeping. Not one record book which has been deposited with the yearly meeting committee has ever been lost.

Beginning with a small number of books in 1908, the Quaker Collection has grown rapidly through the work of concerned Friends such as Laura Worth, Katherine C. Ricks, and Dorothy Gilbert Thorne. Next in succession was Treva Mathis, who gave many years of able service as curator. Carole Treadway began working as an assistant in 1969. Today Damon D. Hickey is curator and Carole Treadway, bibliographer.

This vast collection of materials pertaining to the Society of Friends is now called the Friends Historical Collection. It is the only sizable collection of its kind in the South, and is among the largest in the country. A comprehensive brochure which contained a general listing of the treasures stored there was prepared by Treva Mathis in 1969. A revised and updated version is being prepared for printing at the present time.<sup>13</sup>

Recently the Friends Historical Society, in cooperation with the Publications Board of the yearly meeting, has begun a pilot project of encouraging one or more of the older meetings in each area to compile book length histories. The first to be published was that of Holly Spring in 1982; New Garden and White Plains in 1983; Spring in 1984. Half a dozen others, including Deep River, Cane Creek, Back Creek, Centre and New Hope are in the writing stage. Friends at Harmony Grove are beginning research. Carlton Rountree has begun work on the history of early Friends in the Perquimans area; Algie Newlin has done extensive work on the history of Friends in the general Cane Creek valley.

Of great concern to all Friends at the present time is the fact that after a full century of steady numerical growth following the low point of



### *Publications*

1865, the membership of North Carolina Yearly Meeting has shown a decline during the past two decades. (This corresponds to losses reported by the Methodists and other main line denominations.) Friends have been studying this problem intensely. Within the past decade especially, strenuous efforts have been made to establish new meetings, and to promote church extension generally. Among the recently established meetings are Thomasville, Burlington, Battle Forest (Greensboro), Spruce Pine (Kernersville), Community (Carthage), Sharon (Charlotte) and Trinity (Winston-Salem). Others are under consideration.

In the early 1960s the Friends United Meeting established an Extension Corporation for assisting in building programs and in the

establishment of new meetings. Jamestown was the first North Carolina meeting to receive assistance from this corporation. Since that time a number of other meetings have received similar assistance.

Starting new meetings in rapidly developing areas has been spurred on by the distressing practice of many industrial corporations in transferring young executives rapidly from one area to another. Many young families being thus transferred find no Friends meeting in the new location, and are often lost to other denominations. Obviously the solution would be to have a strong Friends meeting in every city — a goal not easily attained.

A dynamic concern for outreach among North Carolina Friends has been shown in the establishment of a new missionary program in northeast Mexico, across the border from Brownsville, Texas. This project was started in 1977. Harold and Patti King have been in charge of the work there. Reports of progress appear in recent copies of the yearly meeting Minutes.

The official organ of the Friends United Meeting, *Quaker Life*, (formerly *The American Friend*) with Jack Kirk as editor, is providing a rich source of both information and inspiration relative to the wider outreach and the greater issues in which Friends are interested today.

A new and different kind of activity for Friends and others in the Snow Camp area of Alamance County began with the opening of an outdoor drama, "The Sword of Peace," in the summer of 1974. This outdoor drama, the only one in the central part of the state, is focused upon the problems of Quakers during the Revolutionary War. The script was written by William Hardy of Chapel Hill, and first season presentations were directed by Sandy Moffett. The continued success of this outdoor drama with its central emphasis upon "men of peace — a time of war" has been truly phenomenal. During the decade of its existence, the site has been developed into a significant historical center for the piedmont section of the state. A restaurant, two early Friends meeting houses, and several log buildings of special historic significance, have been brought to the site. Special credit is due to the tireless, dedicated labor of James Wilson, and other members of the nearby Cane Creek Meeting and community.



## *Other Groups of Friends*

In an earlier chapter, the formation of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) was discussed. Since 1904 other groups of Friends have appeared in North Carolina, and have become a part of the overall Quaker experience in the state.

Soon after the turn of the century a few Friends belonging to the Greensboro Monthly Meeting began to feel that both this meeting and North Carolina Yearly Meeting were not sufficiently evangelistic. These individuals attended sessions of Ohio Yearly Meeting and found there the kind of evangelistic fervor and doctrinal emphasis which they desired. During the next few years, in a process much too complicated to be followed in detail here, Pomona Friends decided to withdraw their affiliation from North Carolina Yearly Meeting, and to ask to be received into the Hampton Roads Quarterly Meeting of the Ohio Yearly Meeting. Pomona Friends later relocated, and became Hunter Hills Friends Church. Spring Garden, then a part of Greensboro Monthly Meeting, remained with North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

The reasons for this action on the part of Pomona Friends is stated in their minutes for eighth month, 1923, as follows:

North Carolina Yearly Meeting joined the Five Years Meeting in 1902, an organization [which] for twenty-five years after its inception in 1897, failed to adopt an orthodox statement of belief and which since it did in 1922 adopt the Richmond Declaration of Faith and the Letter of George Fox to the Governor of Barbados as a part of its statement of belief has made no perceptible effort to conform itself, its committees or institutions to the beliefs set forth in these documents.<sup>1</sup>

Another reason for the action was voiced in the open discussion: "some of the officers of the Five Years Meeting are too liberal."<sup>2</sup> The two major factors involved were obviously a desire for greater evangelistic efforts, and for more emphasis upon the doctrines of the Holiness movement of that time.

During the years immediately following, additional communities became involved. Members of the Pomona group sought out other people of a similar persuasion, and suggested that they too leave North Carolina Yearly Meeting.<sup>3</sup> A few members left the High Falls-Prosperity Meeting and helped to form the Pine Mountain Meeting in Moore County. (This meeting later became Price Memorial.) About the same time a meeting house at Saxapahaw which was not in use at the time was taken over.<sup>4</sup> Other congregations were formed as a result of evangelistic efforts apart from existing meetings.

As the number of these congregations increased, a request was made for a local Quarterly meeting to be set up, because it was difficult for North Carolina Friends to attend meetings at Hampton Roads. In response, Piedmont Quarterly Meeting of Ohio Friends Church was formed in 1942.

Some name changes followed. While Ohio Yearly Meeting had a tradition of remaining independent, in 1965 the Executive Board voted to join the Evangelical Friends Alliance. Following this action, the Friends indicated above became the Evangelical Friends Church, Eastern Region, Piedmont District.

Eva Gardner reported thirteen meetings in 1966: ten in North Carolina and three in Virginia, with a membership of five hundred. At present the list of meetings (with locations) is as follows:

Ferry Road	Danville, Va.
Longview	Danville, Va.
Immanuel	Eden, N.C.
Hunter Hills (Pomona)	Greensboro, N.C.
Trinity	Martinsville, Va.
New Hope	Greensboro, N.C.
Pleasant View	Eagle Springs, N.C.
Price Memorial (Pine Mountain)	High Falls, N.C.
Putnam	Route 1, Carthage, N.C.
Rock Hill	Robbins, N.C.
Saxapahaw	Saxapahaw, N.C.

As the years of the twentieth century progressed other groups of Friends have been formed. In the extreme western part of the state there are several meetings which belong to the Southern Appalachian Yearly Meeting (and Association). These are at Asheville, Boone, Celo, Cullowhee and Mars Hill. The Columbia Meeting (South Carolina) is included.

A meeting in Charleston, South Carolina, belongs to Southeastern

Yearly Meeting, Florida. There are a few unaffiliated meetings throughout the state: Beaufort; Chapel Hill (formerly identified with North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM), now having ties with the Piedmont Friends Fellowship and with Friends General Conference); Swannanoa, at Warren Wilson College; and Tryon, at Tryon, North Carolina.

Piedmont Friends Fellowship was organized in October 1968 by several monthly meetings in central North Carolina that shared a common "unprogrammed" mode of worship and were concerned about Friends witness in social, economic, and political life. The group met for the first time in a retreat at Carolina Friends School in Durham, and has continued ever since to hold semiannual retreats, usually at Quaker Lake camp. The member meetings represent a variety of Quaker affiliations and non-affiliations. Friendship Meeting in Greensboro was initially an independent monthly meeting affiliated with Friends General Conference in Philadelphia. It has since joined North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) as well. When Piedmont Friends Fellowship as a whole joined Friends General Conference, Friendship Meeting ceased its independent affiliation. Chapel Hill Meeting was organized by North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM), but has since withdrawn, and has no current affiliation except with Friends General Conference through Piedmont Friends Fellowship. Durham Meeting is a member of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative). Raleigh and Charlotte Meetings are part of North Carolina Yearly Meeting (FUM). Fayetteville Meeting has been unaffiliated (except with Friends General Conference through Piedmont Friends Fellowship), but has joined North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) on a trial basis. Other meetings have participated in Piedmont Friends Fellowship from time to time.

Piedmont Friends Fellowship has consistently resisted becoming a yearly meeting, and was slow even to affiliate with Friends General Conference. Some have felt that the semiannual retreats with their business meetings, plus the periodic planning meetings of representatives from the monthly meetings, provided enough institutional support without being burdensome. Others also felt that, since many of the meetings already had yearly meeting affiliation, more formal organization by Piedmont Friends would compete with existing commitments, and perhaps draw meetings away from their own yearly meetings where their distinctive witness was needed. Membership in Friends General Conference has added little to the organizational burden, and has brought the added benefit of increased communication with Friends of similar orientation elsewhere.

The only major project carried out by Piedmont Friends Fellow-



ship is Quaker House in Fayetteville. Begun in the summer of 1969 by Chapel Hill Meeting it was soon supported by Raleigh, Durham, and Friendship Meetings (the nucleus of Piedmont Friends Fellowship). Although governed by an independent Committee of Overseers, Quaker House has been a central concern of Piedmont Friends Fellowship from its inception. Initially Quaker House, located near one of the world's largest army bases, was the center for both military counseling and antiwar organization during the Vietnam War. It continues to render a most valuable service to many in the military who feel they can no longer allow themselves to be a direct part of warmaking, but who may be confused about their rights, or intimidated about acting to secure a discharge.

## Some Conclusions

Even though somewhat isolated during the early years, North Carolina Friends were an integral part of the larger Society of Friends — simple, non-professional people who rendered a tremendous service in the building of the new nation. Quakers were an important influence in Colonial America, especially in North Carolina, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and to a lesser degree in other colonies. Their contribution to the development of American ideals was far greater than has been generally recognized, especially in terms of religious freedom, concepts of equality and democracy, justice for the oppressed, compassion for the suffering, honesty and integrity in both private life and in government, and peaceful relations with all people based on universal good will. Just over half a century ago, Henry Seidel Canby, writing in the *Saturday Review of Literature* (January 2, 1926) commented thus: "The fundamental qualities of what can properly be called the American brand of idealism are essentially Quaker in character and largely Quaker in origin."<sup>1</sup> An in-depth survey of this theme is beyond the scope of this book, but is necessary for the serious student of Quaker history.

No single chapter in this book has been devoted to the Quaker peace testimony. This is not to minimize its importance, but rather to indicate that the peace principles of Friends have been woven into the whole story. The vital nature of the peace testimony in its historical perspective has been described thus by Rufus Jones:

. . . the Quaker peace testimony turned out to be one of the greatest contributions of Quakerism . . . It gave the world, as a living object lesson, the exhibition of a coherent body of Christians who, generation after generation, staked their lives and fortunes on the absolute reality and worth of love as a working principle of social relations; who believed that the kingdom of God as Christ proclaimed it should be put into operation here and now and practiced with seriousness and sin-

cerity; and who were determined to test out that way of life in all its bearings and implications, whether, here in the temporal order, it led to survival or annihilation. When moral insights break forth and become incarnate in a seasoned group of persons and are wrought out into the tissue of life and prove their worth, there is always a strong presumption established that they are in some way grounded in the eternal nature of things.<sup>2</sup>

Whether Friends' peace testimony has weakened in the present century is open to question. However this may be, there is one positive factor of tremendous significance which must not be overlooked. The time finally came when Friends could make a united, collective witness for justice and righteousness in Washington where national and international policies are formulated. The Friends Committee on National Legislation, formed in 1943, was a great forward step in positive peacemaking.<sup>3</sup> This action might have been taken much sooner — except for the fact that in earlier years, quietism and the lack of internal unity stood in the way. This action came belatedly; but even so, Friends were leaders in this field.

Some historians have claimed that colonial Quaker policies in dealing with the Indians, especially in Pennsylvania and North Carolina, did not work. A more realistic observation is that theirs was the only policy which did work. Non-Quaker injustice and violence brought terrible consequences.

Today, the institution of human slavery seems to belong to the forgotten past. As a matter of fact, for almost two hundred years this was the greatest moral and social problem affecting Southern Quakers. Long before slavery threatened the existence of the nation, Friends came to the conclusion that slavery was morally wrong. Thereupon they set about the task of freeing their own slaves and trying to persuade other people to do the same. In doing so, they were at least a century ahead of most other people. They demonstrated in a practical way that this great blight could be eliminated from the country without violence and war. Friends did not change the course of history, but the significance of the witness which they made was no less.

With reference to Quaker concern for the oppressed, an enormous amount of care was extended to Southern Negroes in their struggle toward freedom. Why then are there so few Black members? Why are there no Negro Friends meetings in the state? Partial answers were given earlier; but it seems that after helping their colored brethren through the trauma of slavery, Friends stopped short of following through to higher levels of Christian brotherhood. Perhaps a certain



amount of prejudice interfered. At any rate, after being far ahead of other denominations for a century, Quakers did not maintain their former position of spiritual leadership.

First-generation Friends were far ahead of their times in emphasizing the sacred worth and dignity of the individual, and his inalienable right to worship his Creator in spirit and in truth, without the interference of any priestly ritual or ceremony. Friends were also leaders in stressing the necessity for a life of simplicity, integrity, and moral purity.

As to the essential equality of all people before God, Friends were pioneers in recognizing the total equality of women. For almost three centuries Friends were leaders in the emancipation of women. In recent years other denominations have been making tremendous strides in this direction; Friends are no longer alone in this realm.

To balance the equation concerning leadership, there have been some areas of Christian progress where Friends have been followers, not leaders. Although first-generation Friends were intensely missionary, this early zeal was lost during the prolonged period of quietism. Consequently, during the last half of the nineteenth century, Friends had to follow the leadership of more aggressive denominations. This was true also with the temperance movement, stewardship, Christian education, church extension, evangelism, and the use of hymns of praise in worship, and so on.

Quaker testimonies may be seen most clearly when exemplified in the lives of individuals. For example, the principle of being "led by the Spirit" is unmistakably clear in the life of William Edmundson who made his perilous way into Eastern North Carolina in 1672. Conditions and circumstances have changed dramatically, but faithful obedience to the leadings of the Holy Spirit is forever new. Upon this the life and growth of the Church depends.

A role call of heroes and heroines cannot be undertaken, but a few examples from among many hundreds can be cited. A very humble person, Lucy Vestal of Yadkin Quarter spent more than fifty years in dedicated ministry, *walking* to small nearby meetings. Without her faithful, self-sacrificial service, it is clear that some of these meetings would not have survived. She was never called a *pastor*, but she rendered pastoral love and care to all the people she could reach. The list of similar devoted servants of the Master could go on and on — ministers, elders, teachers, parents.

As an example of combining social concerns with evangelistic fervor, Allen Jay stands out as a remarkable figure. In the dark days following the Civil War he came to North Carolina to do relief work,

to help build school houses and meeting houses, and to establish schools. Jay realized that even more than food and clothes, the people needed the Good News of God's love. This he shared with all his heart — as generously as he shared his time in what might be called social service. He represented these two phases of the Christian experience in vital, creative balance.

Nereus Mendenhall also stands as an exemplary figure. He was a great scholar, a learned man. At the same time, he was a deeply committed Christian, offering his life in devout obedience to the will of God. He was a leader in the hour of worship as truly as he was a leader in the classroom. Modern technology has been going forward rapidly since his day; but this dedication to truth, both scientific and spiritual, is cited as a vital part of the Quaker tradition at its best.

Perhaps Nathan Hunt should be mentioned also for a very special reason. For many long years he dreamed of a boarding school for Quaker boys and girls at New Garden. Eventually he became a very old man. The exciting thing about his life is that he maintained his dream! The fatigue of the years may have weakened his body, but not his great purpose in life. Fortunately, he lived to see that dream come true.

Why is the Society of Friends in North Carolina still numerically small? Obviously the first part of the answer has to do with westward migrations during the nineteenth century. This is not the whole answer, however. For a hundred years and more quietism and the fear of "creaturely activity" focused the attention of Friends too much upon themselves, and too little upon their mission in the world. This prevailing quietism contributed indirectly to a lack of qualified leadership, such as is necessary for healthy growth and development. North Carolina Friends were without a center of higher education for two centuries.

In the days of greatest opportunity, numerical growth was adversely affected by the lack of aggressive outreach. In Colonial Carolina, Quakers had the field almost entirely to themselves for almost half a century. Apparently they did not make the most of the open doors around them. Much later, following the Civil War, another day of enormous opportunity came, but weakend by the devastation of war and decimated by migrations, Friends found themselves unable to meet the spiritual needs of the times except in a limited fashion. Furthermore, evangelistic outreach was a matter of uncertainty and controversy rather than concentrated action.

Still another factor might be mentioned. The unpopular positions which Friends have taken, especially in wartime, have caused Friends to encounter prolonged periods of public disapproval. No religious group adhering to a strong peace testimony has ever become popular and numerous.

For the Society of Friends of the present day there are great encouraging factors. It is made up of the best educated membership ever; it has the best buildings and the greatest financial resources, the best educational institutions for the training and development of leadership, the greatest open fields for service, and the best channels of outreach for responding to these needs. The possibilities for creative service constitute an unprecedented challenge.

Near the beginning of this century this urgent word was sent to members across the state: "It is time for us as a Yearly Meeting to stop doing things in a half-hearted spirit . . ." These many decades later a similar note might be sounded. The great testimonies of Friends are too essential, too basically vital, to be only half-heartedly accepted, and only half-heartedly emphasized. The times call for a vigorous witness. Shortly before his death in 1948 Rufus Jones penned these words: "We must discover a new skyline, new frontiers of life and creative faith . . . There is only one thing supremely important now — and that is to help build a new kind of world. The only way to be good in this crisis is to be heroically good."

Perhaps this overview of the Quaker experience in North Carolina should end with a strong affirmation of faith: There is a great Divine purpose for the Society of Friends which has not yet been fully achieved. Friends have a definite, specific mission, a Divine reason for being. The greatest day for North Carolina Quakers may not be in the past, but in the future. To paraphrase the words of John Robinson to the people who were leaving for America in 1620: "God has yet more light and power to break forth from the Society of Friends!"



## APPENDIX A

# *Chronology*

### EARLY EXPLORATION

- 1524 Carolina coast explored by Florentine navigator in the service of France.
- 1526 Spanish attempted a settlement, possibly on the Cape Fear.
- 1540 Hernando De Soto explored western part of the state.
- 1584 Coast explored by English: Amadas and Barlow.
- 1585-86 Ralph Lane's "Lost Colony," Roanoke Island.

### 1600-1700

- 1656 First Quakers arrived in America.
- 1661 First *recorded* land transaction in Carolina, from Indian Chief Kilkocanen to George Durant.
- 1663 Colonial Charter granted to Carolina by King Charles II.
- 1665 Arrival of first Quaker family in Carolina. (?)
- 1672 Visits of William Edmundson and George Fox; first religious services of record.
- 1677 Second visit of William Edmundson.
- 1680 First written records of Friends in Carolina, Perquimans area.
- 1681 Meetings established at Henry Prow's and Christopher Nicholson's.
- 1680 Friends arrived in Charleston, South Carolina.
- 1684 A monthly meeting held at the home of William Wyatt.
- 1692 Beginning of Penn's "Holy Experiment" in Pennsylvania.
- 1695-1697 John Archdale Governor of Carolina.
- 1698 North Carolina Yearly Meeting established at the home of Francis Toms, the elder.

### 1700-1750

- 1701 First Vestry Act, beginning of opposition to Quakers by the Established Church.

- 1703 First meeting house built in Pasquotank (uncertain).
- 1704 First meeting house built in Perquimans, Wells (uncertain).
- 1705 First school house built at Symons Creek, Pasquotank.
- 1706 Lower Meeting House, Old Neck.
- 1706 Caleb Bundy asked approval for building meeting house.
- 1708 Earliest known Minutes of North Carolina Yearly Meeting.
- 1710 Quakers possibly reached highest percentage of population (about one-tenth), and greatest control of Colony.
- 1730 Around this time, Friends began moving inland, away from the coast.
- 1740 Friends began settling in piedmont Carolina. (Specific year uncertain; possibly earlier.)
- 1746 John Woolman visited the Carolinas.
- 1748 Lower Falling Creek Meeting begun; moved to Upper Falling Creek in 1772; later to Great Contentnea; then to Nahunta.

### 1750-1800

- 1750 Meetings for worship were begun in the home of Richard Cox; became Neuse Preparative Meeting in 1754.
- 1751 Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, first in central part of the state.
- 1751 Meeting for worship at New Garden; monthly meeting established in 1754.
- 1752 Gregorian Calendar adopted in England — and in the Colonies.
- 1753 Moravians purchased 100,000 acres from Lord Granville.
- 1753 Meeting for worship at Deep River; monthly meeting established 1778.
- 1754 Meeting for worship at Rocky River; preparative meeting, 1792; monthly meeting, 1908.
- 1754 Rich Square Monthly Meeting.
- 1755 Discipline of 1704 (Philadelphia) revised and adopted.
- 1757 Meeting for worship at Centre; monthly meeting established 1773.
- 1759 Western Quarterly Meeting established.
- 1760 Meeting for worship at Back Creek; preparative meeting, 1785; monthly meeting, 1792.
- 1760 Meeting for worship at Holly Spring; preparative meeting in 1790; monthly meeting, 1818.
- 1760 Migration of Friends into South Carolina and Georgia.
- 1762 Meeting for worship at Providence; preparative meeting in 1799; monthly meeting, 1912.
- 1762 Meeting for worship at Westfield; monthly meeting, 1786.
- 1768 First Friends moved into Tennessee.
- 1770-1775 Quaker families from Nantucket moved into piedmont Carolina.
- 1773 Meeting for worship at Spring; preparative meeting, 1779; monthly meeting, 1793.

- 1773 Meeting for worship at Springfield; preparative meeting 1780; monthly meeting 1790.
- 1776 North Carolina Yearly Meeting makes slave-holding a disciplinary offense.
- 1780 Migration of Friends to Tennessee increased; Lost Creek settlement begun in 1784.
- 1781 Battle of Guilford Court House.
- 1787 New Garden Quarterly Meeting established.
- 1787 Yearly meeting convened at Centre, first time in Piedmont.
- 1789 Contentnea Quarterly Meeting established.
- 1791 First yearly meeting at New Garden.
- 1791 Bush River Quarterly Meeting in South Carolina.
- 1793 Deep Creek Meeting established.
- 1797 Marlborough became preparative meeting; monthly meeting, 1816.
- 1799 Hunting Creek monthly meeting established.
- 1799 Thomas Beals family of North Carolina moved to Ohio Territory.

### 1800-1850

NOTE: Dates for the establishment of individual meetings after 1800 will be found in the list of meetings on following pages.

- 1800-1861 Period of greatest westward migration of Friends.
- 1802 Lost Creek Monthly Meeting, Tennessee, set up: ten local meetings.
- 1812 Bush River Quarterly Meeting laid down. (Migrations)
- 1816 "Year without a summer" — caused by eruption of volcano in Indonesia in 1815.
- 1818 Deep River Quarterly Meeting set up.
- 1819 Southern Quarterly Meeting set up.
- 1837 Joseph John Gurney visited North Carolina.
- 1837 New Garden Boarding School opened.
- 1844 Virginia Yearly Meeting laid down.

### 1850-1900

- 1861-1865 Civil War suffering.
- 1865 Low point in yearly meeting membership: less than two thousand.
- 1865-1872 Assistance from the Baltimore Association.
- 1870 "General Meetings" held; beginning of revival movement.
- 1870 Meetings in Tennessee transferred to Wilmington Yearly Meeting.
- 1870 First hymn-singing (?)
- 1873 Missionary Board appointed. (NCYM)
- 1881 Yearly Meeting gave its building to New Garden Boarding School; new building in High Point.
- 1882 Evangelistic Committee appointed.
- 1887 Conference of Friends on Unity, Richmond, Indiana.



- 1888 New Garden Boarding School became Guilford College.
- 1889 Yadkin Quarterly Meeting set up.
- 1892 Orphanage established at Springfield (discontinued 1909).
- 1898 Surry Quarterly Meeting established.
- 1890 First "pastoral ministers" (?)

### 1900—1950

- 1902 Five Years Meeting organized.
- 1904 North Carolina Friends adopt Uniform Discipline of the Five Years Meeting.
- 1904 North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative) set up at Woodland.
- 1917 American Friends Service Committee organized.
- 1920 First World Conference of Friends held in London; North Carolina sent sixteen delegates.
- 1937 Second World Conference of Friends at Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.
- 1943 Friends Committee on National Legislation organized. North Carolina participated.
- 1949 Quaker Lake property purchased.

### 1950—

- 1952 Third World Conference of Friends, Oxford, England.
- 1953 International Conference of Young Friends at Guilford College.
- 1964 Yearly Meeting Committees grouped into Commissions.
- 1966 Corinth and Somerton Meetings in Virginia joined North Carolina Yearly Meeting.
- 1967 Fourth World Conference of Friends held at Guilford College.
- 1968 Friends Homes Corporation organized.
- 1969 North Carolina Friends passed million-dollar mark in total giving.
- 1969 North Carolina Yearly Meeting passed the fifteen thousand mark in membership.
- 1970 Permanent Board became the Representative Body.
- 1976 Bethel Meeting (Virginia) joined North Carolina Yearly Meeting.

## PLACES OF HOLDING YEARLY MEETING

- 1698—1786 Perquimans County: at Perquimans Meeting (Suttons Crrek), or at Old Neck.
- 1787 and 1789 Centre Meeting House; first sessions in central part of the state.
- 1788 Wells, Perquimans County.

- 1790–1813 Alternating between Symons Creek or Little River, and New Garden.
- 1813–1879 New Garden
- 1880 Friendsville, Tennessee
- 1881–1882 New Garden (Meeting House given to New Garden Boarding School in 1883; renamed King Hall.)
- 1883–1904 High Point, in new Yearly Meeting House.
- 1905–1911 Memorial Hall, Guilford College.
- 1912–1960 New Garden Meeting House, now remodeled as New Garden Hall (College Administrative Offices).
- 1961– Dana Auditorium, with some sessions in Founders Hall, Sternberger Auditorium.

# Yearly Meeting Officials

## CLERKS

1698—	Gabriel Newby (?)	1813	Barnabas Coffin
1708—1711	William Everigin	1814	Thomas White
1712—1719	Unsigned	1815—1821	Jeremiah Hubbard
1720	John Symons	1822—1823	Elijah Coffin
1721	Unsigned	1824—1826	Jeremiah Hubbard
1722—1723	John Symons	1827—1829	Nathan Mendenhall
1724—1726	Unsigned	1830—1835	Jeremiah Hubbard
1727	T. J. Cl——?	1836—1840	Nathan Mendenhall
1728—1729	Unsigned	1841—1856	Aaron Stalker
1730—1740	R. Wilson	1857—1858	John R. Hubbard
1741—1760	Joseph Robinson	1859	William Clark
1761—1771	Francis Nixon	1860—1871	Nereus Mendenhall
1772—1775	Jacob Wilson	1872—1873	Josiah Nicholson
1776	Josiah White	1874	Nereus Mendenhall
1777—1778	Thomas White	1875—1878	Isham Cox
1779—1780	George Walton	1879—1880	Josiah Nicholson
1781—1786	Benjamin Albertson, Jr.	1881—1884	Isham Cox
1787—1794	Levi Munden	1885	Josiah Nicholson
1795	Exum Newby	1886—1916	L. Lyndon Hobbs
1796	Levi Munden	1917—1920	Zeno H. Dixon
1797	Enoch Macy	1921—1928	L. Lyndon Hobbs
1798	Levi Munden	1929—1941	Samuel L. Haworth*
1799—1802	Thomas Jordan	1942—1946	Algie I. Newlin
1803	Barnabas Coffin	1947	Samuel L. Haworth
1804	Thomas Jordan	1948—1952	Seth B. Hinshaw
1805	Barnabas Coffin	1953—1960	Algie I. Newlin
1806	Exum Newby	1961—1965	Byron Haworth
1807	Barnabas Coffin	1966—1969	J. Binford Farlow
1808	Exum Newby	1970—1974	Ruth Reynolds Hockett
1809		1975—1979	Clifford C. Winslow
1810	Barnabas Coffin	1980—1981	James Robertson
1811		1982—	Sarah Pate Wilson
1812	Thomas White		

\* Milo Hinkle served as clerk *pro tem* in 1936.



## SUPERINTENDENTS

1915-1932	Lewis W. McFarland, "Supt. of Evangelism"	1947-1952	Isaac J. Harris
1932-1934	Depression years; position discontinued	1952-1968	Seth B. Hinshaw
1935-1941	Murray C. Johnson, Executive Secretary	1968-1971	Hershel M. Hill
1943-1947	Fredric E. Carter	1971-1974	J. Victor Murchison
		1974-	Billy M. Britt, Superintendent

## TREASURERS

1879-1889	Joel G. Anderson	1919-1945	Alvin S. Parker
1889-1896	Joseph J. Cox	1945-1946	Joseph D. Cox
1896-1897	Alphaeus M. Briggs	1946-1948	Oriana B. James
1897-1901	William T. Parker	1948-1965	B. Clyde Shore
1901-1916	Henry A. White	1965-1979	Paul J. Morgan, Jr.
1916-1919	Otis E. Mendenhall	1979-	Sarah Brown McCain

## Appendix C

# *Statiscal Summary, 1983* *N.C. Yearly Meeting (FUM)*

### EASTERN QUARTER (ESTABLISHED 1680)

MEETINGS	ESTABLISHED*	MEMBERS, 1983
Bethel	1903	51
Corinth	1880	114
Piney Woods	1723	69
Somerton	1672	83
Up River	1866	246

### WESTERN QUARTER (ESTABLISHED 1759)

MEETINGS	ESTABLISHED	MEMBERS, 1983
Burlington (Prep.)	1979	22
Cane Creek	1751	243
Centre	1763	389
Chatham	1824	80
Concord	1799	176
Edward Hill	1890	102
Graham	1907	130
Liberty	1943	51
Plainfield	1887	145
Providence	1762	63
Rocky River	1753	177
South Fork	1800	261
Spring	1773	39

\*Beginning Date

## NEW GARDEN QUARTER (ESTABLISHED 1787)

MEETINGS	ESTABLISHED	MEMBERS, 1983
Battle Forest	1977	71
Forsythe	1971	102
Glenwood	1931	404
Greensboro (First Friends)	1891	287
Kernersville	1909	175
Miami	1958	91
New Garden	1754	402
Raleigh	1926	48
Rockingham (Prep.)	1970	39
Spring Garden	1909	165
Spruce Pine	1977	31
Winston-Salem	1912	364

## CONTENTNEA QUARTER (ESTABLISHED 1789)

MEETINGS	ESTABLISHED	MEMBERS, 1983
Bethesda	1886	134
Goldsboro	1906	241
Hood Swamp	1887	73
Nahunta	1748	185
New Hope	1880	313
Oakland	1882	187
Rhodes	1890	101
Woodland	1873	28

## DEEP RIVER QUARTER (ESTABLISHED 1818)

MEETINGS	ESTABLISHED	MEMBERS, 1983
Archdale	1924	572
Charlotte	1959	57
Deep River	1753	248
High Point	1883	731
Jamestown	1963	69
Oak Hill	1908	176
Springfield	1773	459



## SOUTHERN QUARTER (ESTABLISHED 1819)

MEETINGS	ESTABLISHED	MEMBERS, 1983
Asheboro	1913	464
Back Creek	1760	131
Bethel	1821	128
Community (Prep.)	1979	18
Cedar Square	1873	260
High Falls	1907	51
Holly Spring	1760	212
Hopewell	1885	122
Marlboro	1797	321
Poplar Ridge	1857	276
Prosperity	1880	62
Quaker Heights	1979	121
Randleman	1944	101
Science Hill	1892	86
South Plainfield	1886	106
Thomasville (Prep.)	1979	23

## YADKIN VALLEY QUARTER (ESTABLISHED 1889)

MEETINGS	ESTABLISHED	MEMBERS, 1983
Branon	1910	100
Deep Creek	1793	163
Hunting Creek	1799	40
East Bend	1882	88
Forbush	1845	275
Harmony Grove	1888	150
Mt. Carmel	1899	96
Pilot View	1908	185
Sharon (Prep.)	1981	12
Statesville	1965	20
Trinity	1982	128
Union Cross	1881	206
Winthrop	1890	133

## SURREY QUARTER (ESTABLISHED 1898)

MEETINGS	ESTABLISHED	MEMBERS, 1983
Ararat	1924	41
Center Valley- Mountain View	1905	30
Friends Union	1902	88
Galax	1928	14
Mount Airy	1898	176
Mount Pleasant	1797	19
Pilot Mountain	1915	81
Pine Hill	1898	190
Siloam	1958	31
Union Hill	1907	156
Westfield	1771	47
White Plains	1883	335

## Appendix D

### *Other Yearly Meetings*

- 1661 NEW ENGLAND. At this time the concept of a "Yearly Meeting" was just coming into existence.
- 1668 LONDON. This was some seven years after New England.
- 1672 BALTIMORE. Established as Maryland Yearly Meeting. The name was changed in 1774.
- 1673 VIRGINIA. Exact date unknown. Laid down in 1884.
- 1681 PHILADELPHIA. This was the year in which William Penn received the great land-grant from King Charles.
- 1695 NEW YORK. Some meetings were located in New Jersey, Vermont and Connecticut.
- 1698 NORTH CAROLINA. Meetings in South Carolina and Georgia were included.
- 1813 OHIO. The first yearly meeting west of the Alleghenies.
- 1821 INDIANA. Largely settled by Quakers migrating westward from North Carolina.
- 1858 WESTERN. Located in the western part of Indiana, with some meetings in Illinois.
- 1863 IOWA. Many Iowa Friends had North Carolina ancestors.
- 1867 CANADA
- 1872 KANSAS
- 1892 WILMINGTON (Ohio)
- 1893 OREGON
- 1895 CALIFORNIA

NOTE: The above listing does not contain the new yearly meetings created by separations, nor the proliferation of new yearly meetings across the country since 1900.



## Appendix E

# *World Statistics, 1982*

The following statistics from the Friends World Committee for Consultation are approximate, for changes are occurring constantly. These figures are given for the purpose of furnishing some idea of the number of Friends in the world.

It has been estimated that Friends represent less than .8 of one percent of the population of the United States, and only .007 percent of the world's population. Attention is called to this small proportion not to cause discouragement, but rather to emphasize the need for making a common witness.

### AFRICA (42,488)

Burundi	2,200
East Africa	40,000
Pemba	140
Southern Africa	148

### THE AMERICAS (132,102)

Bolivia and Peru	12,000
Canada	1,086
Central America	3,500
Colombia, Costa Rica	66
Cuba	330
Jamaica	450
Mexico	230
United States	114,440

### ASIAN-WEST PACIFIC (5,192)

### EUROPE AND NEAR EAST (21,510)

# Notes

## Chapter I. FROM SMALL BEGINNINGS

1. This and following statements are from Hugh T. Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973), 2-7.
2. Roy Thompson, *Before Liberty* (Piedmont Publishing Co., 1976), 41.
3. Colonial Records of North Carolina, I, 45. (The Charter is on display in the North Carolina Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.)
4. Ibid.
5. *The Journal of George Fox*, ed., John L. Nickalls (London: Cambridge University Press, 1952), 642.
6. The name Perquimans is of Indian origin, meaning "Land of Fair Women," according to an old tradition.
7. Addison Coffin. "The Early Settlement of Friends in North Carolina, Traditions and Reminiscences." 1894. Typed for the N.C. Friends Historical Society in 1952, it is in the Friends Historical Collection at Guilford College.
8. The oldest known land grant is 1660, to Nathaniel Batts, who was the first known permanent white settler in North Carolina, 1654 or 1655. (Lefler, 17.)
9. William Edmundson, *Journal. Friends Library*, 2(1838): III.
10. The ship upon which Fox and Edmundson sailed to the Barbados was the *Industry*. Other famous ships bringing Quakers to America were the *Woodhouse* and the *Welcome*. There were no Quakers on the *Mayflower*.
11. Edmundson, 60.
12. Obviously Edmundson meant that they had no organized religion, no church or ministry.
13. Ibid., 61.
14. R. D. W. Connor, *History of North Carolina* (Chicago: Lewis, 1919), 85. The first Methodist sermon in the state was preached by Joseph Pilmore, Currituck County, 1772, exactly one hundred years later. A Baptist minister, Paul Palmer, preached in Chowan County in 1727.
15. Allen C. Thomas, *A History of the Friends in America* (Philadelphia: Winston, 1919), 82.
16. The committee which developed the plan for this marker was F. N. Nicholson, chairman, Lewis Lyndon Hobbs, Fernando C. White, Alphaeus

Briggs, Emma L. White, treasurer, Mary M. Petty, and Lewis McFarland. The marker was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies June 11, 1929. Dr. Hobbs, then about eighty years of age, "presented the marker to the city of Hertford in an eloquent address." A pageant depicting the arrival of Fox and Edmundson was written by Josephine Davis, and presented as a part of the celebration. Reuben Payne played the role of George Fox, and J. Waldo Woody that of an Indian chief.

17. Edmundson, 96, 97.

18. These records of the Perquimans Meeting are sketchy and incomplete, but are now carefully preserved in the Friends Historical Collection at the Guilford College Library. The fragile pages, some more than three hundred years old, have been laminated, so that no further deterioration can occur.

19. Many decades later when Friends were settling farther inland, meetings were named for creeks, rivers, mountains, trees and springs. Seven meetings in North Carolina and Tennessee took their names from springs. In the days of long slow travel, the meeting house needed to be near a good spring of water.

20. North Carolina Yearly Meeting Minutes, 1788. (Hereinafter cited as *Minutes*.) The meeting house at Old Neck was "wrecked" in a storm, possibly a hurricane moving up the coast.

21. The Joseph Scott house where George Fox was received is thought to be the oldest extant in North Carolina. It has recently been restored. It is now known as the Newbold-White house. (Perquimans Co.)

22. In similar fashion, the term "Methodist" began as a nickname for the Wesleyan movement in England almost a century after the time of George Fox.

23. William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (London: Macmillan, 1912), 570.

24. T. Edmund Harvey, "Quaker Language," London Friends Historical Society *Bulletin*, 25 (1928): 29.

25. Ellen G. Winslow, *History of Perquimans County* (Baltimore: Regional, 1974), 421.

26. While searching through the early Perquimans records recently Thomas E. Terrell of the Springfield Meeting happened to notice a long poem in the back of the book, written by Henry White, dated 1698. This long religious-teaching poem is significant, in that it is the earliest known literary work to appear in Carolina, pre-dating any other by some forty years. White's use of unpredictable meter indicates that he was more interested in instructing members in the Quaker faith than in fine writing.

27. Minutes 1708.

28. After North Carolina Yearly Meeting was established in 1698, more than a hundred years passed before another American Yearly Meeting was established, that of Ohio in 1813.

29. Minutes 1708.

30. Minutes 1709. The odd spelling found in early Quaker records was



not peculiar to the Society of Friends. Similar spelling is to be found in the early secular records. Dictionaries for standardizing English spelling had not come into existence.

31. Minutes 1708. There is no indication that these twelve men were chosen to represent certain areas or meetings, except what may be deduced from the Minutes of 1709, the following year: "The members were called over and Augustine Scarborough was wanting, and Friends thought fitt to choose Caleb Bundy in his place for Pasquatank and John Nichols in the place of John Barrow (considering he is ancient) for Perquimans."

32. Ibid.

33. Woody Family Papers, N.C. Friends Historical Collection.

34. *Historical Collection of South Carolina*, 2, 86.

35. "Quakers in North Carolina, 1703," Philadelphia Friends Historical Society *Bulletin*, 3 (February 1909): 19, 20. (Hereinafter cited *Bulletin*.)

36. The Charleston Meeting was established by London Yearly Meeting, and Friends there considered themselves as belonging to London Yearly Meeting, rather than North Carolina.

37. Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1896), 307. This is a most comprehensive account of early meetings in the South, although he admits that many facts will forever remain unknown since a large number of early Quaker settlements simply disappeared, with no records left behind.

38. Mabel L. Webber, "The Records of the Quakers in Charles Town," 1927.

39. Samuel F. Fothergill, *Memoirs, An account of the life and travels in the work of the ministry* (London: Luke Hinde, 1753), 173.

40. Weeks, 113ff.

41. Ibid.

42. B. Y. and W. F. Culbertson, *Historical Sketch, Union (Quaker) Church* (South Carolina), Centennial Celebration Booklet, 1943.

43. Wrightsborough Friends had also suffered from Indian attacks.

44. Weeks, 344.

45. The records of the Neuse Preparative Meeting from 1754 to 1841 are in the N.C. Friends Historical Collection.

46. George Fox, 639.

47. *Historical Collection of South Carolina*, 2, 108. Related by Rufus Jones in *Quakers in the American Colonies* (London: Macmillan, 1911), 347, 348.

## Chapter 2. QUAKERS IN THE PIEDMONT

1. Charles and Ann Terrell Lynch (Quakers) moved into the beautiful area now known as Lynchburg. No Friends meeting remains, but a Presbyterian Church was organized which is commonly called the Quaker Presbyterian Church.

2. Hiram H. Hilty, *New Garden Friends Meeting* (Greensboro: N.C.

Friends Historical Society, 1983), 11.

3. Elmina Foster Coffin Wilson, "Reminiscences." Extensive in length and descriptive interest. Manuscript typed in 1908, now preserved in the N.C. Friends Historical Collection.

4. William E. Rutledge, Jr., *History of Yadkin County* (Yadkinville, N.C., 1965), 7. Squire and Sarah Boone, parents of Daniel Boone, settled in this area in 1750, according to a historical marker there. An area called Quaker Meadows in Burke County seems to have been settled as early as 1752. This location is noted on the Collet map, 1770.

5. The meeting records of Friends show the same lack of awareness that they were doing things which would be of enormous interest to their descendants in the years to follow. This is especially true of Quaker monthly meeting minutes during the Revolutionary War and the Civil War. This is one form of "Quaker Silence" which is exasperating to historians.

6. Thompson, 55, 56. Originally the term "indenture" referred to a written contract which was torn into two parts in a zigzag fashion. These two parts could later be identified by matching the serrations. When the prescribed time had been served, the indentured servant could present his half of the document, and be set free. The demand for labor in America was such that orphan children, even women were taken off the streets and brought to America for sale. These indentured servants, or "redemptioners," resented being called slaves.

7. H. G. Jones, ed., *North Carolina Illustrated, 1524-1984* (Chapel Hill: University Press, 1983), 86.

8. *The Chamness Family in America* (Wabash, IN: C/S Printing Co., 1981), 6.

9. The Indians "owned" the land in a different way from that of the white settlers. They tended to be migratory as occasion demanded. A recent publication of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History is extremely valuable: *The Prehistory of North Carolina, an Archaeological Symposium*, 1983.

10. The first written version of the Mary Barker story seems to have been included in *The Evergreen*, a magazine published by Braxton Craven and others in Asheboro for a brief period, 1850, 1851. (Copies may be seen in the Perkins Library, Duke University.) A recent and much exaggerated version of this story may be found in the Randolph County Library. The legendary Mary Barker rock is on the west side of Deep River, and the Mary Barker spring on the east side.

11. A gravestone in the Bethesda Cemetery, Aberdeen, reads thus: "In Memory of COLIN BETHUNE (an honest man). A native of Scotland by accident, but a citizen of the United States by choice . . . Aged 64 years. (Thompson, p. 68.)

12. The industry and efficiency of the Dutch became proverbial. When something was unusually well done, people said, "Doesn't that beat the Dutch?"

13. *A Journal of the Life, Travels and Gospel Labors of that faithful servant and minister of Christ, Job Scott* (New York: Collins, 1797), 247, 248.

14. Minutes, 1750. It is important to remember that in colonial days tributary streams of a river were identified in terms of the whole system. Thus it was that Cane Creek was said to be on the Cape Fear. Before Cane Creek was set up as a monthly meeting, Carvers Creek was the nearest established monthly meeting. For this reason Rachel Wright and Abigail Pike requested that their memberships be sent to Cane Creek, "the place of their abode."

15. Minutes of a Quarterly Meeting held at Little River, 6th month, 1751.

16. Ibid. "5th mo. 25th, 1754." (In William Hunt's lists of visitors to New Garden, he included Joseph Newby from Perquimans in 1752, but there is no indication that he came on official business.)

17. Jones, *Colonies*, 296.

18. Weeks, 107.

19. Ibid, 108.

20. Kenneth L. Carroll, "Another Look at the Nickolites," *The Southern Friend* (Autumn 1983): 3-26.

21. Algie I. Newlin, *Friends "at the Spring"* (Greensboro: N.C. Friends Historical Society, 1984), 12.

22. Walter Woodward, *Timothy Nicholson, Master Quaker* (Richmond IN: Nicholson Press, 1927), 32ff.

23. Sallie W. Stockard, *The History of Guilford County* (Knoxville TN: Gaut-Ogden, 1902).

24. Dorothy Gilbert (Thorne), *Guilford A Quaker College* (Greensboro NC: Published by Guilford College, 1937), 24. (This story is recounted in most histories of the area, some in highly embellished form.)

25. Pinpointing historical events during this period requires careful calculation. Some old Quaker records contain this helpful notation: "According to the old time."

26. Colonel William Byrd, *History of the Dividing Line, Run in the Year 1778*. Quoted in *Bulletin* 3 (1909): 16ff.

27. Charles Lamb, *Essays of Elia*, "Imperfect Sympathies," 1823. This statement was made about English Friends, but would have applied to American Friends equally well.

### Chapter 3. SOME UNIQUE CUSTOMS

1. Henry G. Hood, Jr., *The Public Career of John Archdale (1642-1717)* (Greensboro: N.C. Friends Historical Society, 1976), 26, 27.

2. Adelaide Fries, *Parallel Lines in Piedmont North Carolina Quaker and Moravian History* (Greensboro: N.C. Friends Historical Society, 1949), 5.

3. Epistle, London Yearly Meeting, 1917.

4. In the early years men kept their hats on in meeting for worship, except during prayer. At this time all would rise to their feet, take off their hats and



stand with their backs to the person offering prayer. Sara R. Haworth, *Springfield 1773-1940*, Springfield Meeting, 16.

5. Many years later, around 1910, when a well meaning non-resident family donated a wall clock for the meeting room at Holly Spring, there was considerable objection, strengthened by the fact that the word "Regulator" appeared on the lower part of the clock.

6. This letter still appears in the North Carolina Yearly Meeting *Book of Discipline, Faith and Practice*. (Hereinafter cited as Discipline.)

7. This statement is actually a postscript to the document which was signed by Richard Farnsworth and Edward Burroughs. (Quoted by Braithwaite, 310, 311.)

8. "Institution of the Discipline," *Friends Library* 1 (1837): 109ff.

9. Rufus Jones, *Colonies*, 146 fn. A statement in the minutes of the Sandwich Meeting (Massachusetts) in 1673 refers to copying the George Fox Queries. It seems that these Queries were expanded and put into more general use by 1700.

10. Minutes 1877, 25.

11. This summary comes from the yearly meeting Minutes of 1789. Many changes, revisions and additions occurred through the decades following. Queries appearing in the current Discipline are far more complex.

12. Discipline 1854, 27.

13. Minutes, Meeting for Sufferings, 1772.

14. Discipline 1880, 60. At the same time, the long-standing title of "Meeting of Ministers and Elders" was changed to "Meeting on Ministry and Oversight," which in turn became the "Meeting on Ministry and Counsel" in the *Uniform Discipline* of 1902.

15. The minutes of the Standing Committee for the years 1759 to 1823 are preserved in the Friends Historical Collection. So also are the minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings, 1824-1902.

16. Weeks, 50, 51.

17. Elbert Russell, *The History of Quakerism* (New York: Macmillan, 1943).

18. Minutes 1755 (Yearly Meeting held at Old Neck).

19. This book is preserved in the N.C. Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

20. Most likely this was the Philadelphia edition, adopted with very minor changes.

21. These statements are repeated in the 1854 edition.

22. Without definite membership rolls, the exact number of Friends at that time is not known.

23. London Yearly Meeting Minutes, 8 (1737): 314-319.

24. Early editions of the Friends Discipline made it a disownable offense "to print or publish any book or writing, having a tendency to excite disunity or discord without the perusal and approbation of the Meeting for Sufferings." (eg., 1854 ed., 15.)

25. Apparently there were never any disciplinary requirements relative to

places of worship. As a matter of historic interest, however, Rufus Jones quotes from the Minutes of the Middletown Meeting in Pennsylvania (1699) which directed that "public Friends do sit in the galleries, and the elder Friends with them, or before the galleries; and that our women Friends take one side of the house, and the men the other; and that all sit with their faces toward the galleries . . ." (Jones, *Colonies*, 549, 550.)

26. Traditions persist that some Friends objected to the installation of stoves as luxuries which were "departures from truth and plainness."

27. In 1754 the Lord Hardwicke Act provided that the use of the Established Church should not be required of Quakers or Jews where both parties were of those faiths.

28. This custom corresponded rather closely with the publication of Banns by the Church of England, designed to prevent hasty, secret, or illegal marriages.

29. Recently an increasing number of people are returning to the old customs. North Carolina Yearly Meeting published a small booklet in 1975 entitled *A Wedding After the Manner of Friends* which explains in detail the procedures which are necessary.

30. In the Cane Creek community some young men were elderd for taking part in "chivarees" — raucous midnight serenades for newlyweds.

31. Repeated from earlier edition of 1809, 9.

32. Holly Spring Minutes, 8th month, 1831. New Garden, Cane Creek, Deep River and some other meetings did actually remove many "artificial" markers, leaving large unmarked spaces in the older part of these cemeteries.

## Chapter 4.

### FRIENDS AND THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE

1. The position could be taken that the British had much justification in levying tax upon the colonies; enormous sums had been spent upon them for "protection" during the French and Indian War.

2. Caruthers claims that Governor Tryon had the County of Guilford (which contained the area now comprising Randolph) formed in 1771 from portions of Orange and Rowan in order to weaken the Regulator movement. Eli W. Caruthers, *Revolutionary Incidents and Sketches of Character* (Philadelphia: Hayes & Zell, 1854), 23.

3. One of the six men pardoned by Governor Tryon was Harmon Cox, the writer's great-great-great-grandfather.

4. William Powell, ed., *The Regulators in North Carolina* (Raleigh: N.C. Department of Archives and History) xxiv.

5. *Ibid.*, 177.

6. Problems of conscience were shared by Mennonites, Brethren and Moravians. These groups also requested exemption from military conscription, but Quakers generally took the lead. All exemptions granted applied

to these other groups also.

7. Minutes 1771.

8. Minutes 1772.

9. George Fox, 142.

10. H. G. Jones, 113.

11. For an extended discussion of this topic, see Arthur J. Mekeel, *The Relation of the Quakers to the American Revolution* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1979), Chapters 6 and 7.

12. Minutes 1775.

13. One of the signers of the Declaration of Independence was Joseph Hewes (Hughes), a North Carolina merchant of Edenton. He had Quaker background, but was not a member of a local Friends meeting. Apparently his Quaker scruples against violence caused him great agony in the moment of decision. In a most dramatic way he took the ultimate step, saying, "It is done and I will abide by it!"

14. Minutes, 1776.

15. Mekeel, 267, 274.

16. Records of the Standing Committee, 1780.

17. Communications to the London Meeting for Sufferings, 1782. See Mekeel, 270.

18. Property was distrained when individuals refused to pay war tax. Most Friends considered paying war tax as one form of participation.

19. Cornwallis said, "This part of the County is so totally destitute that forage is not nearer than nine miles, and the Soldiers have been two days without bread."

20. This battle was fought after Guilford Court House, and after Cornwallis had surrendered at Yorktown.

21. Newlin, *Battle of Lindley's Mill*, 20.

22. Algie I. Newlin, *The Battle of New Garden* (Greensboro: N.C. Friends Historical Society, 1977), 31ff.

23. *Ibid.*, 40.

24. *Ibid.*, 42. (When this book was completed, along with *The Battle of Lindley's Mill*, a similar work of painstaking research, Newlin is reported to have quoted a line from an old spiritual: "I ain't goin' to study War no more!")

25. *Ibid.*, 30. Also Stockard, 151.

26. Seth B. Hinshaw, *Walk Cheerfully, Friends* (Greensboro: North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1978), 140.

27. F. Vern Osborn, *Matthew Osborn and His Family* (Indianapolis, 1970).

28. Dorothy G. Thorne, "North Carolina Friends and the Revolution," *North Carolina Historical Review*, 38 (July 1961): 339.

29. A monument to these British soldiers was erected 160 years later, in 1961.

30. New Garden Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1781.

31. Thorne, *op. cit.*, 329.

32. Few people believed that the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown



actually ended the war. Even Washington expected another British offensive, but this did not occur.

33. Caruthers, 331.

34. Lindley S. Butler, ed., *The Narrative of Col. David Fanning* (Davidson, NC: Briarpatch Press, 1981), 9.

35. The reference was to an Act of the Assembly in 1777 relative to setting slaves free. Friends had made it a disciplinary offense to own slaves in 1776.

36. Weeks, 194, 195.

37. Discipline 1854, 17.

38. Jones, *Colonies*, 578.

39. Howard Brinton, *Quaker Journals* (Pendle Hill Publications, 1972), 65.

40. "An Eighteenth Century View of Quakers," *Bulletin*, 8 (November 1917): III.

## Chapter 5. VISITING MINISTERS CAME

1. Galations 1:1.

2. Jones, *Colonies*, 291. Samuel Bownas tells of a Friend, Joshua Fielding, who traveled five hundred miles in three weeks mostly alone from Charleston, South Carolina, to Virginia "and met but four or five homes . . ." Did he miss the Albemarle Quaker settlement completely?

3. Thomas Chalkley, *Journal, Friends Library*, 6 (1848): 15.

Henry J. Cadbury, *The Church in the Wilderness* (Greensboro: N.C. Friends Historical Society, 1948), 1.

5. Newlin, *Spring*, 41, 42.

6. Henry J. Cadbury, *Journal of William Hunt's Visit to Europe, 1771-1772* (Greensboro: Quaker Collection Publication, 1968), 4.

7. *Ibid.*, 5.

8. *Ibid.*, 7.

9. *Ibid.*, 13, 14.

10. Nereus Mendenhall. Manuscript in Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.

11. Lydia S. Hinchman, *The Early Settlers of Nantucket* (Philadelphia: Ferris and Leach, 1901), 324-328.

12. Holly Spring Minutes, 1851.

13. Cadbury, *Hunt's Visit*, 4.

14. Henry S. Newman, *Memories of Stanley Pumphrey* (New York: Friends Book and Tract Committee, 1885), 106.

15. Scott, 115, 116.

16. Catharine Phillips, *Memoirs* (London: J. Phillips & Son, 1797), 75ff. At the time of this journey she was Catharine Payton. She became Phillips in 1772.

17. *Ibid.*, 80, 81.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Stephen Grellet, *Memoirs*. Benjamin Seebohm, ed. (Philadelphia:

Longstreth, 1874), 63.

20. Coffin, 231.

21. Thomas Scattergood, *Memoirs, Friends Library* 8 (1844): 35.

22. Grellet, 65. 66.

23. Scattergood, 211.

24. A comprehensive discussion of quietism as it affected the Society of Friends may be found in Rufus Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, 1, chapters 2 and 3.

25. Scott, 185.

26. Scattergood, 31.

27. Newman, 136.

28. American Friends did not hesitate to take issue with British procedures and customs. For example, Charity Cook reprimanded them for the disrespect in which servants were held. William Hunt labored with British Friends to establish a women's yearly meeting. This was resisted for another twenty years.

29. John Griffith, *Journal, Friends Library* 5 (1841): 424.

30. *Ibid.*, 425.

31. William Evans, *Journal*. Quoted by Larry Ingle in *The Southern Friend* (Spring, 1983): 9.

32. Newman, 36.

## Chapter 6. "A GUARDED EDUCATION"

1. George Fox, 520.

2. The oldest Natural History Society in Europe is at the Quaker Bootham School, York, England.

3. Job Scott, Introduction, vii.

4. A modern illustration of this type of school was in the Ralph Levering home in the Blue Ridge Mountains in the early 1900s. The mother, Clara Levering, made her large kitchen into a school room each morning. She taught her own children, along with several of the mountain children. And a good school it was!

5. Although no specific statement exists as to the builders of this first school house, there is little reason to doubt that the Quakers constructed it. Who else was there, at that time to do it?

6. Zora Klain, *Quaker Contributions to Education in North Carolina* (Philadelphia: Westbrook, 1928), 37.

7. Minutes 1743, 233.

8. Piney Woods Meeting Minutes, 1787, 176.

9. Klain, 50. (The spelling in these statements is modernized for easier reading.)

10. The implication is clear that schools were under the care and supervision of monthly meetings.

11. H. G. Jones, 139.

12. The scarcity of books was such that some enterprising teachers produced handmade arithmetic books for school purposes, a few of which exist to this day. One from the Rocky River-Cane Creek area which the writer has examined, was excellently done.

13. Minutes 1829, 99.

14. Meeting for Sufferings Minutes, 1829, 55.

15. Minutes 1829.

16. Minutes 1831.

17. Ibid.

18. Gilbert, 12.

19. Allen Jay, *Autobiography* (Philadelphia, John C. Winston, 1910), 203.

20. *Friends Messenger*, 1905.

21. The original Hunt homestead was about two miles from New Garden Meeting. William Hunt, Nathan's father, was a cousin of John Woolman. Nathan Hunt and his second wife lived in the Springfield community for a few years. After his second wife died, he returned to the New Garden community, where he died in 1853 at the age of ninety-five. Nathan Hunt's great-grandson, James M. Davis of Kansas, who was assisted through William Penn College in Iowa by John W. and Mary C. Woody, became the founder of Friends University in Wichita.

22. Minutes 1886, 11. First report of the Advisory Committee.

23. Gilbert, 232.

24. Guilford was the third in the nation, being preceded only by Oberlin and Kalamazoo, both founded in 1833.

25. Coffin, 240-250.

26. A century later the president of Guilford College, Dr. William Rogers, expressed the far-reaching influence of the school thus: "I came back from my travels abroad this summer in considerable awe . . . of the network of graduates . . . who have gone into positions of significant leadership throughout the world." (Guilford College Alumni Bulletin, Fall, 1983.)

27. The writer's great-uncle, Jonathan Barker, died there in the Spring of 1852, probably of spinal meningitis.

28. Wilson, *Memoirs*.

29. Boys and girls had few opportunities to be together unless they were relatives. Not surprisingly, many of them invented close ties of kinship.

30. The membership of the yearly meeting at this time was almost entirely rural. Competition with slave labor was indeed a serious economic problem.

31. Minutes 1860, 14.

32. One of the principals of New Garden Boarding School was Aaron Stalker, a fourth-generation Quaker school teacher. Most of the Stalker family moved to Indiana, but there were Stalkers teaching in Randolph and Guilford Counties for about one hundred years.

33. Gilbert, 194.

34. Notable exceptions were the Moravian school at Salem, and the Chowan Baptist Female Institute at Murfreesboro.



35. Gilbert, 26.

36. The famous Dr. David Caldwell is reported to have said of Jeremiah Hubbard when he was teaching at the Little Brick School House at New Garden, "You ought to pay Mr. Hubbard double . . . I hear that he has taught his pupils the art of courting. Two of his pupils have made known their intentions of marriage." (Coffin, 26.)

37. Russell, 421.

38. *Laws of North Carolina*, 1830, 1831.

39. Levi Coffin, *Reminiscences* (Cincinnati: Clark, 1880), 69-73.

## Chapter 7. THE FELLOWSHIP OF FRIENDS

1. William Caton, *Life* (1698), Chapter 3.

2. Jones, *Colonies*, 314-315.

3. This account appears in *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers, 1650-1689*, printed in London, 1753. A copy is in the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library. The names of the people who subscribed are given.

4. Minutes 1855, 4.

5. Minutes 1848, 4.

6. A copy of this Epistle was found recently, carefully preserved in the Nicholas and Catherine Barker family Bible, now in the writer's possession.

7. Lefler and Newsome, 419. An earlier division in the Methodist Church (1843) over the slavery issue resulted in the formation of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. When the slavery issue no longer remained, this body retained its identity on the basis of greater emphasis upon entire sanctification, and greater strictness relative to the liquor traffic, the use of tobacco, etc.

8. *First Annual Report of the Baltimore Association of Friends*, Baltimore: Boyle, 1866, 3.

9. Weeks, 295.

10. Newman, 128.

11. A discussion of this situation was presented to the North Carolina Friends Historical Society by Kenneth Carroll in November, 1981. His address, "East-West Relations in North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1750-1785," was later printed in *The Southern Friend* (Autumn 1982): 17.

12. Weeks, 287.

13. Minutes 1827. (A copy of this Epistle is in the Friends Historical Collection.)

14. In 1828 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) prepared "A declaration of the Yearly Meeting of Friends held in Philadelphia . . . Showing the Contrast Between Their Doctrines [the Hicksites] and those held by Friends." Copies of this pamphlet were widely distributed across the country, and may still be found in old meeting libraries.

15. David N. Hunt, "Reminiscences of Nathan Hunt." *Christian Worker* (Fourth-month, 1883): 195. A much more dramatic account of this event was

given by Allen Jay, 120-125. In not being present, however, Jay was not correct in some points. Obviously he was right in attributing great spiritual wisdom to the elder statesman, Nathan Hunt.

## Chapter 8. EQUALITY FOR WOMEN?

1. Some local meetings in England complied right away, but British Friends resisted the idea of a women's yearly meeting until 1784, more than a hundred years after such had been established in Ireland in 1671, and Philadelphia in 1681.

2. When the World Council of Churches was formed in 1948, about three centuries after Quaker women began preaching, it was found that beside the Quakers only the Congregationalists and the Disciples of Christ were ordaining women ministers. Presbyterians began in 1955; Methodists in 1956; Episcopalians in 1976.

3. Robert Barclay, *Apology* (Philadelphia: Friends Book Store, 1908 ed.), 306.

4. *Ibid.*, 314.

5. There is some uncertainty at this point. Rufus Jones, writing in the *Bulletin*, suggested that Richard Smith may have preceded these women Friends. ("The First Quaker in America," March 1911: 58, 59.) Also, it could be noted that Mary Dyer, the martyr, had been in America *before* she became a Friend.

6. Walter Robson, "An English View of American Quakerism," *Journal*, 1887, ed. Edwin Bronner (Philadelphia, 1970), 128.

7. Errol T. Elliott, *R. Ernest Lamb, Irish-American Quaker* (Richmond, IN: FUPress, 1977), 12.

8. Hinshaw, *Carolina Quakers*, 23. The descendants of Abigail Pike are scattered across the nation today.

9. Elliott, 26.

10. Cadbury, *William Hunt*, 9.

11. Elliott, *Quaker Profiles from the American West* (Richmond, IN: FUPress, 1972), 102.

12. Jones, *Later Periods*, I, 227ff.

13. Klain, 289, 290.

14. Jordan and Manning, *Women of Guilford* (Greensboro, NC: Women of Guilford, Inc., 1979), 33.

15. *Ibid.*, 33, 34.

16. Klain, 292.

17. Gilbert, 99ff.

18. *Uniform Discipline*, North Carolina Edition, 1902, 19. The same statement is still retained in the 1982 printing, 39.

19. The story goes that in one yearly meeting (not North Carolina) the question of combining men's and women's business meetings was settled

when one man arose and said, "I approve of our embracing the women!"

20. As late as 1916 Chief Justice Clark of the State Supreme Court gave this description of the status of women in North Carolina: "The laws . . . grant the right of suffrage to every adult excepting four classes: idiots and lunatics; convicts; illiterates (unless their ancestors were white) and women." For a further discussion of this theme see Albert Coates, *By Her Own Bootstraps* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 1975.

21. Hinshaw, *Carolina Quakers*, 93ff.

22. Eliza Armstrong Cox, *Looking Back over the Trail* (Women's Missionary Union of Friends in America, 1927), 17.

23. Weeks, 13.

24. The first woman to earn a Ph.D. degree in the United States was of Quaker background; so was the first woman doctor. Of the first eight women doctors in our country, five were Quakers. The first woman astronomer was a Quaker; also the first woman millionaire in the business world, if this has any significance.

25. Coffin, 49-52.

26. The story goes that when Pinson was too feeble to go to meeting his old horse would jump out of the pasture on meeting days, go stand by his accustomed tree at the meeting house for an hour, then go home again. Whether this was precisely true or not, it makes a fascinating story.

## Chapter 9. WELL-DRESSED QUAKERS

1. Thomas Ellwood, *A History of Thomas Ellwood* (London: 1765), 342, 343.

2. Irvin Poley, *Friendly Anecdotes* (New York: Harper, 1950), 51.

3. Margaret Fell Fox, *Collected Works* (1710), 534, 535. (Quoted in numerous Quaker writings.)

4. Minutes 1848.

5. David Hall, *An Epistle of Love and Caution* (1746), 27, 28.

6. Frances Margaret Fox, *Quakers Courageous* (Boston: Lothrop, 1941), 145.

7. Amelia Gummere, *The Quaker, A Study in Costume* (Philadelphia: Ferris & Leach, 1901).

8. Hollingsworth was described as "A stalwart form, more than six feet high. He sits in meeting the picture of firmness, and ever and anon, throwing up the ample brim of his flopping beaver, he looks as if he was restless for execution." Quoted by Algie I. Newlin in *Charity Cook: A Liberated Woman* (Richmond, IN: FUPress, 1981), 120.

9. Anna Cox Brinton, *Quaker Profiles* (Pendle Hill Publications, 1964).

10. Minutes 1864, 3.

11. Jay, 157, 158.

12. These books are preserved in the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library, and are considered to be special treasures. They were



secured for the Collection through a cooperative process. The books came into the possession of Carrie Collins Aaron, ninety-four-year-old daughter of John and Rebecca Collins, of Collingswood, New Jersey. Mrs. A. L. Stephens, sister of Lina Meredith of the New Garden community, assisted in securing them for the Guilford Library. Dorothy Gilbert (Thorne) made a special trip to New Jersey to receive the prized books.

13. Newman, 126.

14. Minutes 1861, 5.

15. Discipline 1876, 192.

16. *Friendsville Current*, 1942.

17. Elbert Hubbard, *Little Journeys to the Homes of the Great*, 2 (New York: Roycrofters Press, 1928), 197.

## Chapter 10. SOME FRIENDS WERE DISOWNED

1. Genesis 17:24; Exodus 11:15; Numbers 9:13.

2. Bush River Monthly Meeting Minutes, 1806.

3. Weeks, 60.

4. During the ten year period, 1771 to 1781, Cane Creek disowned twenty-eight members for military activity (including Regulators).

5. Discipline 1854, 18.

6. Hilty, *New Garden*, 35.

7. Discipline 1823, 25.

8. Chalkley A. Chawner, *Diary*, 1845.

9. Truth can sometimes be contained in a silly jingle, as the following will show:

A girl in the meeting named Ann

Decided she wanted a man;

No local young Quaker

Was found who would take 'er,

Hence off to the Baptists she ran.

10. Minutes 1806. Such persons were free to apply for membership upon the basis of their own initiative upon reaching a sufficient age.

11. Discipline 1854, 35.

12. Discipline 1823, 27.

13. Discipline 1876, 72.

14. Weeks, 140.

15. Harry Emerson Fosdick, ed., *Rufus Jones Speaks to Our Time* (New York: Macmillan, 1951), Introduction, ix.

## Chapter II. PROBLEMS OF LEADERSHIP

1. Oxford and Cambridge excluded Dissenters such as the Quakers until 1781.
2. Russell, 163.
3. Weeks, 331-334. This list is too long to be included here — fourteen pages. Meetings in Virginia, South Carolina and Georgia are given, with dates, locations, etc. Copies of this book may be found in most good libraries, although it has been out of print for a long time.
4. Douglas Steere, "Three Areas of Concern." An address presented to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1965, later printed in leaflet.
5. Rufus Jones said it succinctly: "Meetings cannot live and grow in spiritual power without fresh messages of a convincing, illuminating, and constructive type."
6. Newman, 133.
7. *Ibid.*, 128.
8. Jay, 197, 198.
9. Minutes 1890, 29. Quoted from a report to the Evangelism Committee by Pumphrey at the conclusion of his travels across the yearly meeting.
10. Correspondence from the Civil War period, now in possession of the writer.
11. William Williams, *Journal* (Cincinnati: Lodge, L'Hommedieu and Hammond, 1828), 28.
12. *Proceedings of the General Conference of Friends*, held in Richmond, Indiana, 1887, 28.
13. A little truth may lie in this jingle:  

My people have been Quakers  
 A hundred years or so;  
 To every new proposal  
 They've always answered, No!
14. N.C. Yearly Meeting on Ministry and Oversight, Minutes 1876, 18.
15. *Ibid.*, 26.
16. *Ibid.*, 22.
17. Conference Minutes, 1887, 21.
18. New Garden Quarterly Meeting on Ministry and Oversight, Minutes 1896, 12, 13.
19. Minutes 1908, 79. The present-day Committee on Recording Ministers put this idea into practice recently, almost seventy years later.
20. Jay, 202, 203.

## Chapter 12. EFFECTS OF SLAVERY IN THE SOUTH

1. Frances R. Doak, "Mary Mendenhall Hobbs," Founders Day Lecture at

Guilford College, 1955.

2. Perhaps his attitude changed in later years.
3. H. G. Jones, 88.
4. Carroll, "East-West Relations," 17–25.
5. Job Scott, 173.
6. Quoted by J. William Frost, *The Quaker Origins of Antislavery* (Norwood PA: Norwood Editions, 1980), 182.
7. Pennsylvania, New England, New York, Virginia and Maryland all made slave-holding the basis for disownment in this same period.
8. Discipline 1854, 33.
9. Chief Justice John L. Taylor, speaking for the North Carolina Supreme Court, July, 1827. *North Carolina Reports*, 12 (July Term, 1827): 123.
10. Weeks, 224, 225.
11. Cane Creek actually made a protest against this arrangement in 1810.
12. Yearly Meeting ownership of slaves was unique to North Carolina.
13. Pamphlet, included with Minutes 1848, 40.
14. North Carolina Yearly Meeting for Sufferings, Minutes 1856, 263.
15. Jay, 235.
17. Bush River Monthly Meeting Minutes, 3rd month, 1807.
17. Mary P. Littrell, *A History of Rich Square Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1760–1960* (Woodland NC: 1960), 19.
18. Weeks, 233.
19. Ibid., 234.
20. Ibid., 240.
21. Ibid., 241.
22. Laws in North Carolina were not more severe than in other states. For example Elizabeth Comstock tells of visiting a man in the penitentiary in Baltimore who had been sentenced to fifty-five years for helping a slave and his family to escape! Another man there had been sentenced to fifteen years for having a copy of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in his house.
23. Minutes 1851, 124. Apparently most runaway slaves in the eastern part of the state went northward toward Pennsylvania. Those in the piedmont area went northwestward toward Ohio and Indiana. See *Carolina Quakers*, 32.
24. The full title of the pamphlet is: *A Narrative of Some of the Proceedings of North Carolina Yearly Meeting on the Subject of Slavery Within Its Limits* (Greensborough, NC: Printed by Swaim and Sherwood, 1848).
25. Ibid., 3.
26. Ibid., 4.
27. Micajah McPherson, active leader in the Freedom's Hill congregation, was hanged from a dogwood tree. Fortunately, his neck was not broken, and he was cut down while a little life remained.
28. Roy S. Nicholson, *Freedom's Hill Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1847–1976*.
29. Daniel Worth was a native of the Centre community, cousin of Jonathan Worth, who became governor of North Carolina.



## Chapter 13. FRIENDS MIGRATED WESTWARD

1. During the great persecution period much earlier, many first-generation Friends repeatedly expressed the belief that terrible punishment would be meted out to their persecutors. Perhaps this concept arose from reading the Old Testament prophets, and the book of Revelation in the New Testament. An early Query read, "What signal judgments have come upon persecutors?" This Query was dropped in 1701.

2. Richard Jordan, *Journal, Friends Library*, 13 (1849): 306.

3. Stephen B. Weeks called Zachariah Dicks (Dix) the "Incarnation of Southern Quakerism." Born in Pennsylvania, he came to North Carolina in 1754 and settled in the Spring-Cane Creek area. He was a leading minister in the Society, and traveled widely, finally moving to the West before he died (Weeks, 266).

4. Minutes 1791, 124.

5. Ibid.

6. Joshua Evans, *Journal*. (New Jersey: Comly, 1837), 162.

7. For a brief account of the early settlement of Friends in Tennessee, see "Quaker Migrations to the Western Waters," by Dorothy Gilbert Thorne, *The Southern Friend* (Spring, 1982): 3-16.

8. Weeks, 284.

9. Minutes 1880, 7.

10. *Elbert Russell, Quaker: An Autobiography* (Jackson, TN: Friendly Press, 1956), 16.

11. For further notes on Friends' work in Tennessee, see *Carolina Quakers*, 30; also "Our Mission in East Tennessee," John Collins. His observations in beautiful script are accompanied by watercolor paintings.

12. Larry Dale Gragg, *Migrations in Early America* (UMI Press, 1980).

13. These records, if such exist, have not been located. The Cane Creek (South Carolina) Meeting also moved en masse to Ohio, taking records with them.

14. Weeks, 307, n.

15. Errol T. Elliott, *Quakers on the American Frontier* (Richmond, IN: FUPress, 1969), 28.

16. Weeks, loc. cit.

17. Sara R. Haworth, 11. (Most removal certificates were to Miami Monthly Meeting, Ohio.)

18. Coffin, 115. Penelope Gardner later moved away to teach at the Florence School near Deep River, then moved again to Kansas. She was the daughter of Aaron Hill, prominent in the Abolition movement. (Uwharrie Meeting was laid down in 1870.)

19. *The Genealogical Journal*, Randolph Historical Society, vols. 4-6, 1980-1982.

20. Several versions of this story exist. See Newlin, *Spring*, 46, 47.

21. Legend has it that two of the families in this migratory unit lived for a

time in a two-room house in Indiana. This is understandable, except for the fact that each family had six children! (Ibid., 62).

22. Ibid., 64.

23. "Elijah Coffin," *Bulletin*, 2 (March 1908): 24.

24. Charles F. Coffin, "North Carolina to Indiana in 1824," *Bulletin*, 3 (February 1909): 91-94.

25. Ibid., 121.

26. Minutes 1851, 18.

27. Someone said that it seemed as if the continent were tilted, and everything was sliding toward the west coast.

28. Elliott, *Frontier*, 60.

29. Weeks, 331ff.

30. Migrations of this kind create a problem for genealogists trying to trace family history. Additional difficulties arise from the fact that removal certificates (when such exist) do not always give the names of the children. Furthermore, these certificates were often delayed several years, making precise dating impossible.

31. Frederic Crownfield, Hurley Simpson and Margaret Crownfield, *White Plains Friends Meeting 1850-1982* (Greensboro: N.C. Friends Historical Society, 1983), 14.

32. Harlow Lindley, "A Century of Indiana Yearly Meeting," *Bulletin*, 12 (Spring 1923): 3-21.

33. *Quaker Life*, November 1983, 31.

34. Christina H. Jones, *American Friends in World Missions* (Richmond, IN: American Friends Board of Missions, 1946), 37.

35. Walter Woodward, *Timothy Nicholson, Master Quaker* (Richmond, IN: Nicholson Press, 1927). (The first marriage recorded in North Carolina Yearly Meeting was that of Christopher Nicholson and Ann Atwood, ancestors of Timothy Nicholson, Perquimans, 1680. Elbert Russell stated that Timothy Nicholson represented American Evangelical Quakerism at its best, combining evangelical zeal and devotion to philanthropy with the inward sensitivity of quietism (Russell, 473).

36. After Elijah Coffin had served as clerk of Indiana Yearly Meeting for thirty-two years, he was succeeded by his son, Charles, who served twenty-seven years, a total of fifty-nine years for the father-son clerks, perhaps an all-time record.

37. Thomas Beals of the New Garden Meeting was the first Friends minister to cross the Ohio River.

38. Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, "Baltimore Association," *The Friend*, 34, Philadelphia (1907): 89.

39. "Number of Friends in America, 1845," *Bulletin* 4 (March 1911): 43.

## Chapter 14. THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

1. Carl Degler, *The Other South* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974).
2. *Ibid.*, 175.
3. Vested interests were very strong, even in the North.
4. Events leading to secession in North Carolina during the months preceding the Civil War have been summarized briefly by Lefler and Newsome, 441ff.
5. *Ibid.*, 419.
6. H. Shelton Smith, *In His Image, But . . .* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1972), 189.
7. Minutes 1864, 19.
8. Jonathan Worth, or Quaker background (Centre community), later to become governor, did all in his power to stem the tide toward secession and war. He tried to get the question of secession submitted to a vote of the people, knowing they would reject it. When the war came, however, he made the agonizing decision to cast his lot with the South, and "go down with his people."
9. Fernando Cartland, *Southern Heroes: The Friends in Wartime* (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1895), 142, 143.
10. Jay, 166, 167.
11. Lefler and Newsome, 451.
12. Minutes 1860, 7.
13. Minutes 1862, 24.
14. N.C.Y.M. Meetings for Sufferings, Minutes, 1862, 6, 7.
15. *Ibid.*, 8.
16. Minutes 1864, 5. (The law specifically stated that anyone joining the Society of Friends after October 11, 1862, was not covered by the exemption provision.)
17. Newlin, *Spring*, 81.
18. The estimate of "sixty or seventy" has been suggested, without verification.
19. Elizabeth Hare Lasley, *Somerton Meeting: Three Hundred Years of Witness* (Greensboro, NC: Somerton Friends, 1972), 13.
20. Cartland, 201-204.
21. Fence rails were taken as an easy source of firewood for huge bonfires for soldier encampments. Women and little boys could not rebuild these needed fences.
22. William T. Auman, "North Carolina's Inner Civil War" (Master's Thesis, University of North Carolina, Greensboro, 1978).
23. Marmaduke Robins papers, Southern Historical Collection, Chapel Hill, NC; Feb. 1, 1865).
24. Minutes 1863, 4.
25. According to Mary Mendenhall Hobbs, Johnston's Confederate troops destroyed as wantonly as Sherman's troops in Eastern Carolina.



26. Lefler and Newsome, 457.
27. In the writer's grandfather's family no one died on the battlefield, but five persons, weakened by malnutrition, died of disease.
28. Minutes 1865, 10.
29. Minutes 1866, 11.
30. Lasley, 15.
31. Jay, 143.
32. Ibid., 142.

## Chapter 15. AMAZING SURVIVAL AND RECOVERY

1. Coffin, 213.
2. *First Annual Report of the Baltimore Association* (Baltimore: William Boyle, 1866), 4.
3. Coffin, 163.
4. Jay, 163.
5. Cecil E. Haworth, "History of Deep River Meeting," Unpublished Manuscript, 1983.
6. Mary Marshall Lindley, Private correspondence to author, October 5, 1979.
7. John W. Woody assisted in the establishment of William Penn College in Iowa, serving as its first president. He returned to North Carolina in 1880 to teach in New Garden Boarding School and on the first faculty of Guilford College. Later he was principal of the Friends Boarding School at Whittier, California, 1894 to 1898; then taught briefly at Friends University, Wichita, Kansas.
8. Hobbs, "Baltimore Association," 210.
9. One exception was the Dover Meeting, which declined any outside assistance. Klain, 193.
10. Joseph Moore's grandparents had migrated to Indiana from Eastern Carolina prior to the Civil War. Joseph Moore was a student of Louis Agassiz, who described him as the best scientist west of the Alleghenies.
11. After a term as president of Earlham College, Joseph Moore came back to North Carolina. He assisted in the transition of New Garden Boarding School into Guilford College.
12. This is made quite clear in the correspondence of Francis T. King and the records of the Baltimore Association.
13. Jay, 149.
14. Ibid., 221.
15. Previous mention has been made of the Moravian school at Salem, and the Baptist girls' school at Murfreesboro.
16. Edgar W. Knight, *Public Education in North Carolina* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1916).
17. Allen Jay was asked to become state superintendent of schools, but

declined because "too much carpet bagger politics" was involved.

18. The State Normal School at Greensboro, now the University of North Carolina at Greensboro (UNCG) had its beginning in this Quaker effort.

19. *Friends Review*, 21 (1868): 201ff.

20. Klain, 265.

21. *Ibid.*, 333.

22. Jay, 197.

23. The outstanding success of Belvidere Academy seems to have been due to the able leadership provided by the young Timothy Nicholson.

24. The Little Brick Schoolhouse at New Garden was not called an academy, but perhaps it should be included. Summerfield High School was a private Quaker school which was taken over by the public school system in 1880.

25. Francis Anscombe, *I Have Called You Friends* (Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1959), 314.

26. It seems that the records of the Evergreen Academy were lost when the home of Thomas Hinshaw was burned in 1877. See Hinshaw, *Friends at Holly Spring*, 1982, 68ff.

27. Elbert Russell, *An Autobiography* (Jackson TN: Friendly Press, 1956), 173.

28. The concept of integrated schools was somewhere in the future. The needs of Negro students were different, but this is not to imply the total absence of prejudice.

29. *First Annual Report of the Baltimore Association*, 10.

30. Klain, 318.

31. Minutes 1870, 2.

32. Minutes 1884, 24.

33. *Carolina Quakers*, 48.

34. Minutes 1885, 23.

35. The U.S. Department of the Interior has named the auditorium of the William Penn High School to the National Register of Historic Places. It is now being preserved through community interest and support.

36. Stafford A. Warner, *Yardley Warner* (England: The Wessex Press, 1957), 293.

37. Collins, 1869, 69.

38. Minutes 1871.

39. Dorothy and Walter Auman, *The Seagrove Area* (Asheboro, NC: Village Printing Co., 1976), 68 and 190. The Uwharrie Meeting was "settled" in 1793; declined through migrations; laid down in 1870.

40. Minutes 1868, 9. This report was signed by Allen U. Tomlinson, chairman. A similar expression of appreciation appears the following year, in which the work of Allen Jay is noted. The present Allen Jay School in the Springfield community was named in the honor of this great benefactor of North Carolina Friends.

41. Minutes 1881, 16.

42. King Hall at Guilford College was named in his honor. The present building is the third in sequence; the first two burned. See Gilbert, 147. (King declined to have the college named for him, and suggested Guilford instead.)

43. Damon D. Hickey, "Pioneers of the New South: The Baltimore Association and North Carolina Quakers in Reconstruction." A concise and comprehensive statement of the reorientation of North Carolina Friends, this address was given before the North Carolina Friends Historical Society, November, 1983.

44. Minutes 1885, 21.

45. Minutes 1886, 23.

46. Alphaeus Briggs, "A History of North Carolina Yearly Meeting." Manuscript in Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library, 15.

47. Minutes 1870, 22. The term General Meetings is very old, coming from the days of George Fox, before a system of regular monthly and quarterly meetings was developed.

48. Eastern Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1871.

49. Briggs, 17.

50. Minutes 1874, 8.

51. Newman, 130.

52. Joseph H. Miller, ed., *Book of Meetings, 1884* (Ohio: Miller).

53. William E. Rutledge and Max O. Welborn, *An Illustrated History of Yadkin County 1850–1965*, 161.

## Chapter 16. GREAT QUAKER GATHERINGS

1. Thompson, 55.

2. The first bathtub in the New Garden community is said to have been installed in the home of Professor John W. Woody around 1899. It was made of wood, lined with tin.

3. Traditional stories of this kind have been told and retold so many times that tracing them to original sources is difficult. This story seems to have originated in England.

4. For a random reference, see the Minutes for 1782.

5. Minutes, 1882, 11.

6. Collins, 1869, 78, 79.

7. Robson, 117.

8. Ibid., 126. The term "galleries" as used here refers to elevated seats at the back of the meeting room, not to the elevated platform where the ministers and the elders sat at the front. A decade earlier when John Collins was at yearly meeting on Sunday, he noted that "a meeting for colored people was held outside, Alfred H. Jones and others being led to address them."

9. Ibid., 124.

10. Ibid., 123.

11. Ibid., 126, 127.



12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Newman, 117.
15. Ibid., 126.
16. Minutes 1899, 52.
17. Louetta Knight Gilbert, now resident in Friends Homes, so remembers.
18. Newman, 135.
19. Robson, 70. These figures are obviously estimates, not actual counts. Robson was an enthusiast who liked to use superlatives, along with some exaggeration.
20. Ibid., 127.
21. Minutes 1881, 16.
22. Minutes 1882, 11.
23. Briggs, 50. The writer's first recollection of yearly meeting sessions was seeing Dr. Hobbs, the elderly statesman dressed in a white suit, sitting at the desk presiding with great dignity and wisdom.
24. The first Negro Student was admitted to Westtown School, Pennsylvania, in 1945.

## Chapter 17. THE REVIVAL MOVEMENT

1. Jeremiah Hubbard, formerly of North Carolina, is said to have held the first revival among Friends at New London in Western Yearly Meeting. He was elderd for this innovation, but this did not stop the movement. (Elliott, *Quakers on the American Frontier*, 319.)
2. Jay, 207. Precise date not given; probably 1869.
3. Jay, 210. Allen Jay was a powerful speaker in spite of a cleft palate which prevented clear enunciation. Francis T. King described him thus: "as simple and loving as a child, with all his force of character."
4. Briggs, 21.
5. The Mary Moon Meredith papers, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.
6. *Southern Quarterly Meeting: Historical Sketches* (N.C. Yearly Meeting, 1943), 12.
7. See also the report of the Evangelism Committee, Minutes, 1890, 29.
8. Minutes 1883, 9. In 1885 it was reported rather plaintively, "The Committee spent \$151.00. It was all they had."
9. Minutes 1884, 15.
10. Gilbert, 136-138.
11. Ibid., 136.
12. Newman, 244.
13. Minutes 1890, 29. Report signed by Joel Anderson, chairman, and Mary C. Woody, secretary.
14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.
16. Jones, *Later Periods*, 276ff.
17. Ibid., 277.
18. Ibid., 278.
19. Minutes 1873, 6.
20. Ibid., 21.
21. Minutes 1874, 13.
22. Minutes 1877, 21.
23. Crownfield, 28.
24. Two volumes of carefully written records, 1893 to 1912, are in the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College.
25. Jay, 30.
26. North Carolina Friends have just reason to be proud of the individuals who served in foreign fields, but the number has been disproportionately small. This has left a greater burden on other yearly meetings.
27. Minutes 1911, 35. In some vicinities, there was strong opposition to the missionary movement, as was the case in England and other places. In the course of time this gradually subsided.
28. Fries, 9. Apparently this mill later became known as Coltrane's Mill. It was built in 1787 by Elisha Mendenhall. A picture of the rock dam appears in *Randolph County, 1779-1979* (Randolph Historical Society, 1980), 45.
29. Sara R. Haworth, 10.
30. Minutes 1880, 8.
31. *Proceedings of Conference at Richmond*, 1887, 20.
32. N.C. Women's Yearly Meeting Minutes, 1898, 60.

## Chapter 18. CHANGES, TRANSITIONS

1. Mary E. Hinshaw and Ruth R. Hockett, eds., *Growth Unlimited: The Story of the United Society of Friends Women* (Richmond, IN: USFW, 1981), 6.
2. Robson, 129.
3. As late as 1900, approximately 90% of the state's population lived in rural areas, Kathleen Southern, *Historic Preservation in Rural North Carolina* (1982), 1. (In 1984, only 2.4% of the people in the United States live on farms.)
4. This "Waterite" movement did not last very long, and is now mostly forgotten. Russell, 481.
5. Ohio Yearly Meeting Minutes, 1878.
6. Quoted by Elliott, *Quaker Profiles*, 36.
7. *Proceedings of Conference at Richmond*, 1887, 22.
8. This was the first cooperative denominational organization to come into existence in the Society of Friends. Friends General Conference and Evangelical Friends Alliance came later.
9. Bound copies of the *Friendly News Letter* are in the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library. Copies of *Carolina Quakers* are still

available from the yearly meeting office.

10. Some knowledge of the Quaker lingo is necessary to avoid misunderstanding. As a case in point, Thomas Story said of the people at a meeting in Pasquotank in 1705 that they were "generally sober." He meant that they were serious-minded, *not* airy and frivolous. There was no implication that some were inebriated.

11. The homes of affluent Friends in early Philadelphia were said to have had wine cellars as a matter of course. This was rarely true of simpler pioneer homes in Carolina.

12. Joshua Bailey, "Temperance Cause Among Friends," *Bulletin*, 1 (October 1906): 26.

13. *Ibid.*, 27.

14. Evans, *Journal*, 140.

15. Popular stories, not all of which could be verified, developed around all great leaders.

16. Newlin, *Charity Cook*, 127.

17. During the years when Quakers were being persecuted in the colony of Virginia, fines for attending Quaker meetings were levied in terms of tobacco — one hundred pounds for each offense.

18. Jones, *Colonies*, 314.

19. Coffin, 197, 198.

20. Robson, 50.

21. Jay, 189.

22. Newlin, *Charity Cook*, 127. In slightly different form, this story is also related as an experience of Mildred Ratcliffe, a minister in a Maryland meeting. To whom did it happen first?

23. In the first annual report of the Executive Committee on First-day Schools (1869) this statement is included: "No use of tobacco in *school* . . . except in two of the quarters."

24. Discipline 1982, 53.

25. Minutes 1889, 20.

## Chapter 19. A SEPARATION

1. In the year 1900, North Carolina was the only yearly meeting in America which had not experienced some kind of separation.

2. Minutes 1849, 9, 10.

3. Minutes 1881-1894. For a careful analysis of the events of this general period, see Damon D. Hickey, "Bearing the Cross of Plainness" (Master's Thesis, UNC Greensboro, 1970). Copy in Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library.

4. Friends have not been alone among religious bodies in having difficulties with adaptations in changing times. The Mennonites and the Amish are very close brethren in this regard.



5. Discipline 1854, Query 5, and earlier editions.
6. Discipline 1869, 28.
7. The whole verse from which the word "free" is lifted reads thus: "Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out demons: freely you have received, freely give." Matthew 10:8.
8. Minutes 1836, 16.
9. Eastern Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1894.
10. Discipline 1982, 57. (In 1907 California, Indiana and Western yearly meetings asked that birthright membership be restored, but there was not sufficient approval for their request to be adopted.)
11. Almost three decades of living in a community where a separation occurred forms the basis for observations and conclusions on the part of the writer.
12. Mary Ina Shamburger, ed., *Letters to Gertrude* (Philadelphia: Winston, 1936), 66.
13. Attitudes of most North Carolina Friends were changing slowly. The last official use of the term "hireling ministry," appeared in the Discipline of 1854, Query 5, 36. The term was omitted in the 1869 Discipline, although Friends were still warned against a "paid" ministry.
14. B. Russell Branson, "Biography of Levi Cox," typed manuscript, Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College Library.
15. Minutes 1900, 46, 47.
16. Eastern Quarterly Meeting Minutes, 1908.
17. Permanent Board Minutes, 1903.
18. Minutes 1902, 11.
19. North Carolina Yearly Meeting (Conservative), Minutes, 1907.
20. The word Conservative has been added in parentheses in recent years. (1973)
21. This Woodland is not the same as the Woodland Meeting near Goldsboro in Wayne County.
22. Southern Quarter is now composed of West Grove and Holly Spring (Friendsville), which is inactive at present.
23. Among these outstanding families were those of Thomas Copeland, Horace Edgerton, William Stanley and Edwin T. Hall.
24. Errol T. Elliott, "Quaker Controversies and Reconciliation," Quaker Lecture, High Point Meeting, 1959.

## Chapter 20. THE PASTORAL SYSTEM

1. Ephesians 4:11.
2. Barclay, *Apology*, Proposition X, Article XXVI, 310.
3. One strong element in the teachings of Jesus is that the highest good of individuals should take precedence over institutions. For example: "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath."

4. Russell, 222.
5. Minutes 1873, 20.
6. William Frost, *The Quaker Family in Colonial America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), 53.
7. Perquimans Meeting Minutes, 1756, 1758. In London Yearly Meeting the problem of pastoral care was assumed largely by voluntary visitation, and by some systematic care through the Home Mission Committee, organized in 1882. (Russell, 501)
8. Newman, 206.
9. Ibid., 247.
10. Minutes, 1879, 36.
11. Minutes 1889, 47, 48.
12. The 1887 Conference in Richmond, Indiana, while expressing some hesitations about "pecuniary assistance" to ministers, expressed approval of the work of pastoral ministers.
13. The first pastors were calld "Ministers in Charge."
14. J. Edgar Williams was the first pastor of New Garden, employed in 1917, according to Hilty, 71.
15. Probably no Quaker ever really said this to his pastor, but many people have quoted it half seriously: "If the Lord will keep thee humble, we will keep thee poor." Today the charge of preaching for money and commercializing the Gospel applies, not to relatively poor pastors, but to radio-television preachers who amass fortunes.
16. Jones, *Later Periods*, 2, 990, 991.
17. Obviously the employment of pastoral ministers did not come about the same way in all places. Elbert Russell has suggested that a few meetings arranged for a minister to be in charge to "protect" the meeting from unacceptable visitors. (Russell, 484 fn)
18. Chapel Hill Meeting was formerly part of the yearly meeting.
19. Quoted by Elliott in *Quaker Profiles*, 40.
20. This observation is based on fifty years of experience in working with people, endeavoring to be of service at the point of greatest spiritual need.
21. At the beginning of the present century it was estimated that 65% of American Quakers belonged to pastoral meetings. By 1950 the figure had risen to 75%.

## Chapter 21. NEW CONCEPTS OF STEWARDSHIP

1. Minutes 1743. This *Primer* was first issued in England in 1674, reprinted in Philadelphia in 1704, and again in Boston in 1743. (Klain, 52.)
2. Various editions of the Discipline prior to 1900.
3. Discipline 1869, 70.
4. Much later, as the missionary movement was getting under way, interest and response depended in large measure upon the amount of infor-

mation which had been shared. The logical sequence seemed to have been: first, information; then inspiration, followed by a concerned and liberal response.

5. Quoted by Gilbert, 52.

6. Minutes 1860, 14.

7. Minutes 1891, 8. In the statistical report for that year the number of meetings without a minister was given at 17; the following year, 18.

8. Discipline 1982, 48.

9. Minutes 1911, 21.

10. Ibid., 24.

11. Ibid., 22.

12. Discipline 1982, 48.

13. Minutes 1920, 21.

14. Minutes 1923, 31.

15. The per capita giving of eleven yearly meetings was listed on page 31, along with that of other denominations.

16. In 1982, the amount of \$27,000 was distributed to retired ministers and workers, or their survivors. (Minutes 1983, 82.)

17. John Woolman, *Journal* (New York: Dutton, 1922), 61.

18. Scott, 67, 68.

## Chapter 22. BIBLE STUDY, CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

1. This is not a precise date. Some meetings began the custom earlier; some much later.

2. Russell, 381, 382.

3. For an interesting account of the work of the Bible Association, see the booklet by Edwin Bronner, *Sharing the Scriptures*, 1979.

4. II Timothy 2:15.

5. Frances Doak, "Mary Mendenhall Hobbs," Founder's Day Lecture at Guilford College, 1955, 15.

6. For a picture of this marker, see *Carolina Quakers*, 48.

7. Levi Coffin, 69, 70.

8. Mark 2:27, 28.

9. Sara R. Haworth, 19ff.

10. Addison Coffin makes this puzzling statement in his *Memoirs*, 186: "There were probably few Sabbath Scripture Schools taught by Friends or other churches earlier than the one taught by Isaac Lawrence in Chatham County, North Carolina, in 1815-1816."

11. Russell, 33.

12. Jones, 888.

13. Russell, 339.

14. Minutes 1856, 7.

15. Francis T. King, "Education in North Carolina," *Friends Review* (1869):



16. Minutes 1869. As with weekday schools, integration had not yet come.

17. Minutes 1869, 11.

18. Barclay's Catechism is quite heavy in nature, patterned after the common catechisms of that day. The inscription is interesting: "From Urie, the place of my being; in my native country of Scotland, the 11th of the sixth month, 1673."

19. In the writer's collection of catechisms is a very old copy of the *Westminster Shorter Catechism* of 1647, adopted by the Presbyterian Church in the United States in 1788. Also there is a copy of another non-Quaker catechism, published in 1859. To what extent these and other catechisms may have been used in Friends Sunday Schools is not known.

20. Minutes 1901, 54.

21. Five Years Meeting Minutes, 1902, 27.

22. The exhortation of the late Ernest Lamb has been needed quite often: "Let us not be backward about going forward!"

23. The first world-wide Sunday School convention was held in 1889. International Sunday School lessons were introduced in 1873.

24. Yearly meeting statistics show an attendance at Sunday School of 6974 in 1972, as contrasted with 5703 in 1982, a decrease of more than ten percent in ten years.

25. Collins, 1869, 56.

26. Christian Endeavor, an interdenominational youth movement, was an indirect outgrowth of the Great Revival Movement. It was organized by Dr. Francis E. Clark in 1881. During the next few decades it spread rapidly, and was widely adopted by Friends prior to the formation of our present-day Friends Youth Fellowship.

27. Minutes 1913, 72.

28. Minutes 1924, 33.

## Chapter 23. NEW OCCASIONS TEACH NEW DUTIES

1. The April-May issue of *The Friends Messenger*, 1932, carried an account of the death of J. Elwood Cox of High Point. The June-July issue contained an account of the death of Dr. L. L. Hobbs.

2. Mary C. Woody also served ten years (1884–1894) as the state president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, traveling widely in this capacity.

3. Minutes 1908, 43–51.

4. Minutes 1904, 22.

5. Briggs, 33. (This was a Model T Ford Roadster, called a Runabout.)

6. Hopefully, the full story of North Carolina participation in the CPS program will be published within the next few years.

7. According to statistics, North Carolina has continuously led other American Yearly Meetings in the number of young people.

8. For pictures of the Quaker Lake Property in its early days, and also the early workers in the program there, see *Carolina Quakers*, 87-90.

9. The North Carolina Friends Historical Society was first organized in 1940. For some reason interest declined, causing it to be discontinued in 1952.

10. Minutes 1977, 71.

11. Thousands of people across the United States can trace their ancestry back to North Carolina, and a prime source of information is the records in the Friends Historical Collection. In recent years there has been an enormous increase in the interest in genealogical research. The most frequently used resource, apart from meeting record books, is William Wade Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia of Quaker Genealogy*, vol. 1, North Carolina.

12. *Carolina Quakers*, 101.

13. When the new meeting house at Springfield was built in 1927, the old building was made into a museum. It contains an amazing collection of artifacts from early life in Randolph and Guilford counties, such as utensils used in the homes, implements used on the farms; also hats, coats, dresses and shoes which were worn by pioneer settlers.

## Chapter 24. OTHER GROUPS OF FRIENDS

1. Pomona Monthly Meeting, Minutes, 8th month, 1928, 15. Quoted by Eva B. Gardner, "The Work of Ohio Yearly Meeting of Friends in North Carolina." (Graduate Thesis, Guilford College, 1966.)

2. *Ibid.*, 16.

3. At this point the writer is speaking from personal knowledge.

4. Gardner, 32-35.

## Chapter 25. SOME CONCLUSIONS

1. A small booklet entitled *Quaker Influence on American Ideals* was prepared by Seth B. Hinshaw in connection with the National Bicentennial Celebration of 1976. (Publications Board, North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1976.)

2. Rufus Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism*, 1, 166.

3. The Peace Association of Friends in America was formed soon after the Civil War (1867) and continued its emphasis upon the peace principles of Friends for many decades. This was a valuable service, but it stopped short of positive efforts to promote ideals of justice and righteousness in Washington where the peace witness of Friends could be most effective.

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